DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 243 309 FL 014 313

TITLE	Limited English Proficiency Students in Wisconsin: Cultural Background and Educational Needs. Part IV: Hispanic Students (Cuban), Indochinese Students (Cambodian), Native American Students (Chippewa).
INSTITUTION	Wisconsin State Dept. of Public Instruction, Madison.
REPORT NO	WSDPI-Bull-4104
PUB DATE	83
NOTE	154p.; For parts I to III, respectively, see ED 221 054, ED 214 373, and ED 221 055.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	American Indians; Bilingual Education; Cambodians; Cubans; *Cultural Background; *Educational Needs; Elementary Secondary Education; English (Second Language); Ethnic Groups; Hispanic Americans; Immigrants; *Limited English Speaking; Program Development; State Programs; State Surveys
IDENTIFIERS	Chippewa (Tribe); *Wisconsin

ABSTRACT

In an effort to meet the special educational needs of limited English proficient (LEP) language minority groups in Wisconsin, a series of manuals was developed to acquaint teachers, administrators, and the public with the groups, their needs, and the existing programs to meet them. This volume is introduced by a chapter entitled "Historical Landmarks of Bilingual Education in Wisconsin and the United States" and a discussion outline on various types of programs for meeting the needs of limited English proficient students in Wisconsin (both by Frank M. Grittner). The three following chapters focus on each of three minority groups: Cubans, Cambodians, and Chippewa Indians. Each of these chapters contains an essay on the cultural background and educational needs of the group, three supplementary readings, and a list of resources and suggested readings. A final chapter on developing English language skills with LEP students includes two publications of the Center for Applied Linguistics: "Hints for Tutors" and "Continuing English Studies During the Summer--Hints for Sponsors and Teachers of School-Age Children." (MSE)

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FOREWORD

The Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction in coordination with the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs--U.S. Department of Education has, in recent years, recognized the special needs of students in limited English proficiency. In addition, the Department has provided technical assistance to local schools, has developed curricular materials for the various language groups within the state and has promoted and approved bilingual teacher certification programs within the various institutions of higher education in the state.

However, despite these activities, one persistent need has not been met. What has been missing is knowledge about the cultural characteristics of the various linguistic minorities in the state along with some practical suggestions for acquiring and using cultural knowledge to help students with limited English proficiency achieve a higher degree of success within the public school system. To help meet these special needs a series of instructional programs have been developed consisting of a series of three training manuals and allied audiovisual materials.

The materials in these manuals were prepared with several purposes in mind. The first purpose is to acquaint teachers, administrators, and the general public with the history of attempts to meet the needs of limited English proficiency students in Wisconsin. A summary of present-day programs is also included. A second purpose is to present information on the cultural background of groups of limited English proficiency students who attend schools in Wisconsin. Within the general groupings of Hispanic, Indochinese, and Native American students, specific groups are discussed (Mexican/Puerto Rican/Cuban; Hmong/Vietnamese/Cambodian; Menominee/Oneida/Chippewa) so as to highlight the particular cultural backgrounds and educational needs of students in these individual groups. Native speakers from these specific groups have drawn on their knowledge, insights, and experiential background to prepare this information. A third purpose of these materials is to provide videotaped lessons and a listing of supplementary readings. These items expand on the information presented here and direct teachers to other sources for developing curricular materials, for expanding instructional strategies, and for increasing their knowledge about the cultural background and educational needs of their limited English proficiency students.

I wish to thank all of those who have contributed to this undertaking. All of us in the Department who worked on this project are especially appreciative of the efforts of Professor Constance Knop who edited, authored and organized the material into a pedagogically useful training program.

The publications are dedicated to everyone who has worked to develop quality educational programs for linguistic minorities of varying cultural backgrounds in the public schools of our state.

Herbert J. Grover
State Superintendent

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I. HISTORICAL LANDMARKS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN WISCONSIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The Early Period 1830-1917

There is considerable historical evidence to show that the so-called "melting pot" approach of assimilating the various immigrant groups did not function as smoothly and automatically as many people have supposed. In fact, some of the ethnic groups which now are considered assimilated did have what would now be called bilingual/bicultural education programs. For example, in the 1830's, a form of bilingual education was conducted in Cincinnati which, in that time period, had a large majority of German-speaking citizens. Documents from the time show that first generation German settlers considered America's common schools inferior to those of the homeland. As a result, private, parochial German schools were established in order to provide a better quality of education based upon the German model and also to preserve the language, culture, and traditions for the next generation of German-Americans. In many places across the country, including Milwaukee and other German ethnic areas, such schools competed successfully with the public schools for many years. This was despite the fact that parents of such students had to pay tuition fees as well as school taxes.

In order to draw students away from these bilingual German-English schools, many states established competing schools in which instruction was carried on, both in German and in English. In 1840, Ohio even passed a law which would now be referred to as a state bilingual law. The Ohio Statutes actually provided tax monies to attract German children into the public schools and to permit German culture and language to be taught. It stated that it was "The duty of the Board of Trustees and visitors of common schools to provide a number of German schools under duly-qualified teachers for the instruction of the youths who desire to learn the German language or the German and English languages together." During that same year, the City of Cincinnati was mandated by law to introduce German instruction in the grade schools as an optional subject. This has been cited as the first bilingual education program in the United States.

Similar programs were set up across the country during the 1800's as more and more German immigrants moved into American cities. Among many others, the states of Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Oregon, and Wisconsin operated schools in which the German language and various subject matter were taught by means of both German and English.

World War I and the End of Bilingual Education

Before the entrance of the United States into World War I, not only did bilingual education flourish across the country, mostly within German-speaking communities, but also German was the main foreign language taught in the nation's high schools, a type of instruction, incidentally, that reached many students who were not of German ethnic background. However, in 1917, an anti-German movement connected with World War I hysteria led to the virtual elimination of both the German bilingual movement in the schools and the teaching of German in the high schools. On the legal front, nearly half the states in the nation passed laws limiting German instruction to the upper grades of the public schools. At the time, this legislation was hardly necessary. Within a few years, German had gone from enrolling 25% of all high school students down to less than 1%. But the trend was established, and the anti-German movement in education broadened itself into a general anti-foreign sentiment. The resulting legislation ended up prohibiting the teaching of any languages other than English in all schools, public or non-public, to pupils below grades 8 and 9. However, a 1923 Supreme Court decision in the Meyer vs. Nebraska case declared such legislation to be unconstitutional. Had this decision gone the other way, subsequent bilingual legislation would have been impossible. Nevertheless, the anti-foreign language-foreign culture movement had its effects, and the result was the total elimination of bilingual education for almost a half century in American schools, and the downgrading of foreign language study from a virtual high school requirement to an elective mostly directed at middle class, college-bound young people.

Re-Emergence of Bilingual Education

Perhaps the first large-scale bilingual program in the second half of the 20th century was established in the Coral Way School, Dade County, Miami, Florida, in the fall of 1963. With funding from public and private foundations, this program successfully dealt with the language and cultural needs of Cuban refugees who had fled the Castro regime. Other bilingual programs were also established during the 1960's in New Mexico and Texas. Other states followed suit, and by 1967, twenty-one states had some kind of bilingual education program. Most of these were in Spanish, but a few were targeted toward French and Portuguese speaking children.

With the support of a number of concerned groups, including the American Council of the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), Senator Yarborough of Texas introduced a bill in 1967 which put bilingual programs on an official basis. In fact, he chaired a special subcommittee on bilingual education, which held hearings during the spring and summer of 1967 in various parts of the country. With backing from President Lyndon Johnson, the Office of Education established the Unit on Mexican-American Affairs in 1967 to push for the passage of a bilingual law. During congressional debate, the proposed law was amended to include all non-English speaking children from different ethnic groups. The bill which emerged from congressional activity emphasized teacher training, development of materials, and pilot projects. The bill was signed into law in January, 1968, and became known as Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act of ESEA. After the passage of Title VII, Massachusetts became the first state, in December of 1971, to mandate bilingual education programs for non-English speaking students. Many other states, including Wisconsin, used the Massachusetts program as a general model for requiring bilingual-bicultural programs, in communities with large numbers of limited English-speaking pupils. Wisconsin offered funding of 70% of the program cost for schools which were required to implement a bilingual program. Thus, Wisconsin was one of those states which both mandated a program and funded it. Some states provided funding but were "permissive" in their approach. That is, local districts had the option to offer a program. They received reimbursement if they did so. Other states passed laws but provided little or no state reimbursement to reward schools which operated a bilingual program.

Under the Carter Administration, attempts were made to put heavy pressure on school districts across the nation with large limited English-speaking populations to implement bilingual programs. The implication was that bilingual education was the only fully acceptable means of meeting the needs of limited English proficiency students. One of the first acts of Reagan's Secretary of Education, Terrell Bell, was to terminate such mandates from the Federal level. (However, it should be noted that state mandates are still in effect.) Other problems which are currently facing bilingual programs were summarized by Gerald Kanoon in his short history of bilingual education in the United States. As he expressed it:

> The obstacles to success are indeed formidable. Perhaps the greatest of these is the doubt in many communities that the maintenance of non-English languages is desirable. It has not yet been demonstrated that a Latino child can become literate in English best by first learning or becoming literate in Spanish. To resolve this doubt in the public mind we shall need to mobilize all available resources behind a few really convincing demonstrations.
>
> Still another massive obstacle is the education of bilingual teachers. Teacher-preparation institutions are only beginning to become aware that new and better programs are urgently needed to educate qualified teachers in the numbers required.
>
> The achievement of truly exemplary bilingual programs will not be easy. As we have seen, many communities are by no means convinced of the desirability of linguistic pluralism. Even those that are, are handicapped by the lack of adequately qualified teachers and other personnel, by the shortage of adequate materials, by inadequate evaluation methods and instruments, and by a lack of collaboration between school and community. Most important of all is the gathering of social data in the planning of such programs.
>
> Finally, to predict that a bilingual education program in the United States will succeed would depend on its quality of teacher training and commitment to its philosophy. For it is a source of pride, a focus of initial loyalties and integrations from which broader loyalties and wider integrations can proceed. If the proponents of this program fail to achieve a newer and higher level of workmanship, we may expect this exciting trend in our schools to lanquish and fade away as have so many other hopeful educational ideas in the past.

Meyer v. Nebraska
Supreme Court of the United States, 1923

In a majority decision written by Justice James C. McReynolds, the United States Supreme Court on June 4, 1923, set aside the conviction of a teacher in a private school who had violated a Nebraska law against teaching a foreign language in the elementary grades. The law violated by teacher Meyer had been enacted in 1919. It was similar to those passed by many states as a part of the campaign to Americanize "foreigners" which took place in connection with the anti-German movement during and after World War I. It prohibited the teaching of a foreign language in the first eight grades of any public or private school and also forbade the teaching of any

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subject by means of a language other than English. In the case in question Meyer had been teaching German to a pupil in an elementary Lutheran school in Hamilton County during May of 1920. In order to convey a feeling for the mood of this particular time period a major portion of the Nebraska State Supreme Court ruling is given here:

> Meyer v. Nebraska
> Supreme Court of Nebraska, 1922
>
> Plaintiff in error (Meyer) was tried and convicted in the District Court for Hamilton County, Nebraska, under an information which charged that on May 25, 1920, while an instructor in Zion Parochial School, he unlawfully taught the subject of reading the German language to Raymond Parpart, a child of ten years, who had not attained and successfully passed the eighth grade. The information is based upon "An act relating to the teaching of foreign languages in the State of Nebraska:"
>
> No person, individually or as a teacher, shall in any private, denominational, parochial or public school, teach any subject to any person in any language other than the English language.
>
> Languages other than the English language, may be taught as languages only after a pupil shall have attained and successfully passed the eighth grade as evidenced by a certificate of graduation issued by the county superintendent of the county in which the child resides.
>
> Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdeameanor and upon conviction, shall be subject to a fine of not less than twenty-five ($25), nor more than one hundred dollars ($100) or be confined to the county jail for any period not exceeding thirty days for each offense.
>
> ...The salutory purpose of the statute is clear. The legislature had seen the baneful effects of permitting foreigners who had taken residence in this country, to rear and educate their children in the language of their native land. The result of that condition was found to be inimical to our own safety. To allow the children of foreigners, who had emigrated here, to be taught from early childhood the language of the country of their parents was to rear them with that language as their mother tongue. It was to educate them so that they must always think in that language, and as a consequence, naturally inculcate in them the ideas and sentiments foreign to the best interests of this country. The statute, therefore, was intended not only to require that the education of all children be conducted in the English language, but that they should not in the schools be taught any other language. The obvious purpose of this statute was that the English language should be and become the mother tongue of all children reared in this state. The enactment of such a statute comes reasonably within the police power of the state...

When the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States it was looked at from the standpoint of the Fourteenth Amendment's restrictions on the rights of states to deprive persons of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. "Mere knowledge of the German language," wrote Justice McReynolds in the majority decision, "cannot reasonably be regarded as harmful. Heretofore, it has been commonly looked upon as helpful and desirable." Thus, the majority of the court ruled that Meyer had a right to teach and that he must not be deprived of that right even though it might be advantageous to promote the use of a common tongue. However, it was stated that "this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution--a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means." Justice McReynolds also stated that, "It is well known that proficiency in a foreign language seldom comes to one not instructed at an early age, and experience shows that this is not injurious to the health, morals or understanding of the ordinary child." Thus, the U.S. Supreme Court took issue with the Nebraska Courts' claim that there are "baneful effects in permitting foreigners...to rear and educate children in the language of their native country."

Lau v. Nichols Ruling

The Supreme Court ruling Meyer v. Nebraska constitutes what may be one of the first legal decisions in the United States regarding bilingual education. Clearly, the attitude regarding bilingual education has changed drastically since 1923. An excellent example is provided in the case of Lau v. Nichols. This case is considered a "landmark" ruling as it set a precedent for future legal questions on bilingual education.

Briefly, Lau v. Nichols was a class suit which charged the San Francisco Unified School District with failure to provide all non-English speaking students (in this case, 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry) with special instruction to equalize their educational opportunity. The plaintiffs contended that their rights had been abridged under the U.S. Constitution, the California Constitution, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and provisions of the California Education Code. After being denied relief at lower court levels, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court. In January, 1974, the Court ruled that there had been a denial of equal educational opportunity under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Court chose not to rule on whether there had been a violation of constitutional rights. The case was remanded to the U.S. district court for the fashioning of an appropriate remedy for the discrimination. The school district has been working with a citizen's task force to develop the remedy. The Lau remedy set the example for other districts contemplating their responsibilities to provide equal educational opportunities for language minority students.

In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court relied solely on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based on grounds of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. The Court ruled that the San Francisco schools had violated Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and could not argue the lack of discrimination because the Chinese students were provided with the same educational treatment as other students. The Court said: "Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education." The Court went on to rule that "the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students."

This landmark decision of the Supreme Court was also important in that it upheld the authority of the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to issue rules, regulations, orders, and interpretations regarding educational programs for children of limited English-speaking ability. The Office of Civil Rights Memorandum of May 25, 1970, requiring federally funded school districts "to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students," was specifically referred to by the Supreme Court.

Federal Policy on Bilingual Education: Title VII of ESEA

The 1968 Bilingual Education Act or Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, as amended, provided supplemental funding for school districts interested in establishing programs to meet the "special educational needs" of large numbers of children of limited English speaking ability (LESA) in the United States. The children initially served under Title VII also had to be from low-income families. Funding was provided for planning and developing bilingual programs, preservice training, and for operation of programs, including bilingual education, early childhood education, adult education, dropout programs, vocational programs, and courses dealing with the history and culture of the language minority group being served.

Between 1969 and 1981, hundreds of millions of dollars have been expended under Title VII, most of which have gone for support of bilingual programs in elementary schools. Of this amount, 12% was utilized in special bilingual education projects, including bilingual children's television, curriculum centers, and dissemination centers.

Revision of Title VII

The Bilingual Act of 1974, which superseded the 1968 Act, was more explicit in intent and design. Children no longer had to be from low income families, a criterion that had previously prevented Title VII from meeting the needs of large numbers of language minority children. For the first time, the Federal government provided a definition of what constitutes a bilingual education program. Furthermore, support was provided for bilingual programs, supplemental community activities, training programs, fellowships, planning for programs, and technical assistance. Indian language programs were also permitted under the Act. Further, the designation "Limited English Speaking" was changed to "Limited English Proficiency" or "LEP." Other new features included a requirement that the Commissioner of Education and the National Advisory Council for Bilingual Education (set up under Title VII) report to Congress on the state of bilingual education in the Nation. Under the new legislation, a separate provision authorized an appropriation of $40.25 million over a five-year period under which state education agencies are eligible to receive training grants, along with local school districts and institutions of higher education. At this writing, the Reagan administration has proposed cutbacks in Title VII with complete phase out of all programs by 1983.

The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974

The Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974 declared Congressional policy to be (1) that all children enrolled in public schools are entitled to equal educational opportunity regardless of race, color, sex, or national origin and (2) that public school assignments should be based on the neighborhood in which children reside. Aside from raising formidable obstacles against the use of transportation to achieve desegregation (i.e., busing), the Act provided a list of six acts that the Congress defined as constituting a denial of equal educational opportunity. Among them is: "the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional program." The Act provided for the initiation of civil action by individuals who have been denied equal educational opportunity and thus gave a direct statutory right of action to language minority persons seeking to vindicate their rights to equal educational opportunity through the institution of effective language programs in the public schools.

In addition, on May 25, 1970, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued a memorandum in which the agency stipulated that school districts with more than 5% national origin minority group children have an obligation under Title VII to equalize educational opportunity for language minority students. Seventy-two districts, or 4% of all districts with 5% or more language minority children, have been reviewed by the agency's Office of Civil Rights to determine their compliance with provisions of the memorandum. These school district review cases include the El Paso Independent School District and the Socorro Independent School District, both in Texas. However, the strongest official federal position thus far on what constitutes compliance with the May 25 Memorandum is the Lau v. Nichols case discussed earlier. In the late 1970's, a number of Wisconsin school districts with large LEP populations were declared to be in non-compliance with the Equal Educational Opportunity Act for having failed to take appropriate actions on LEP pupil needs.

State of Wisconsin Policy on Bilingual Education: Chapter 115, Subchapter VII

In 1975, the State of Wisconsin enacted a mandatory bilingual education law. This law established a program for the bilingual-bicultural education of pupils whose English language usage is limited because of the existence of another language in their background. A school district must establish a program if in a given school there are ten or more bilingual pupils in the kindergarten to 3rd grade; 20 or more such pupils in the 4th - 8th grade; or 20 or more in the 9th - 12th grade. The classes must be taught by bilingual teachers. The Department of Public Instruction is required to recommend ratios of bilingual students to bilingual teachers and counselors in secondary schools. School districts are authorized to provide these services by contracting with other school districts or with a cooperative educational service agency.

The University of Wisconsin System Board of Regents is authorized to establish and operate in cooperation with DPI a training and certification program for bilingual-bicultural teachers and counselors.

The state reimburses any school district granting such programs an amount of up to 70% of the actual cost of personnel, books and equipment.

The state bilingual law directs the Department of Public Instruction to determine the number of pupils in each school district who have the same primary language other than English and whose lack of ability to use the English language hinders their progress in regular classroom work. If the "triggering" numbers are present at any grade level, the Department then must direct school districts to employ teachers and other personnel who are bilingual.

Local school districts receiving funds are required to submit a plan of service indicating the number of pupils having a primary language other than English and the number of bilingual teachers and other personnel employed in the district.

The Department of Public Instruction (DPI) serves as the state agency responsible for coordinating bilingual education programs in Wisconsin. DPI staff with training in Second Language Education and Bilingual Education are responsible for this kind of activity as are employees in the DPI Office of Equal Educational Opportunity. The DPI's personnel in this area serve basically as consultants, providing technical assistance to school districts wishing to implement bilingual education programs and helping universities to set up teacher certification programs. Equal Educational Opportunity staff members focus on criteria and enforcement questions - for example, involving the Civil Rights Act, Emergency School Aid Act, etc.

The State of Wisconsin's role in the administration of bilingual education programs varies according to the title and act under which a school district or educational agency has applied for funds. For example, the DPI is the administration and allocation vehicle for district funding requests under the state Bilingual Program. However, if the request is made under Title VII ESEA or under Title VII of the Emergency School Aid Act, funding would be in the form of a direct federal grant to school districts. On the other hand, refugee assistance grants are made to DPI with money "flowing through" to LEA's as subgrantees.

One of the major problems that Wisconsin is confronted with in attempting to secure federal funding for bilingual education programs is its relatively small populations of Spanish-speaking students and other LEP groups such as the Indochinese. This Wisconsin percentage is relatively low in comparison with states such as California, New York, and Texas that have very high populations of LEP students. Hence, Wisconsin finds itself in fierce competition with other states when it applies for bilingual funds.

The Success and Failure of Bilingual Programs

One highly publicized study of the success of bilingual education reached the remarkable conclusion that results of bilingual education were "inconclusive." This statement was apparently based on the fact that while some bilingual programs are highly successful others were a failure and others made very little apparent difference during the evaluation period. So, this "averaged out" as "inconclusive." This is roughly equivalent to saying that cancer treatment results are inconclusive because, while some patients recover completely, others die and still others have their lives prolonged. A medical researcher who were to report the cumulative data on cancer treatment as being therefore inconclusive would probably be laughed out of the profession. Educators are, apparently, more tolerant of sweeping generalizations.

The fact is that certain kinds of bilingual programs consistently show success according to rather clearly defined achievement criteria while other programs of a different design show consistent lack of success. It would appear to be more productive to look at the patterns of success and failure rather than to attempt to generalize about something as multifaceted as bilingual education. A great deal of research has been conducted over the past half century. An analysis of the findings shows that certain patterns are emerging. As one of the chief international researchers on bilingualism expressed it, "...enough data are available to tentatively conclude that, under specified conditions, being bilingual can have tremendous advantages not only in terms of language competencies but also in terms of cognitive and social development. The limiting conditions are that the two (or more) languages involved in the bilingualism have enough social value and worth that both can be permitted to flourish as languages of thought and expressions." (Lambert, 1981, p. 2) Another researcher has noted that if both languages in a bilingual program are given the opportunity to meet and pass some minimum threshold level competence, then one can realize the benefits of being bilingual. (Cummins, 1978) In less technical language, what this means is that the "developmental" or "additive" types of bilingual programs are always effective, apparently because both languages are highly regarded by the school system, the teachers, and the community. An example of this is the so-called immersion school concept in which children, whose native language is English learn basic subject matter exclusively in a foreign language from kindergarten through the upper elementary grades. In this case, the home language retained its high status and the language to be added was viewed in terms of academic prestige. In Canada, for example, students of monolingual English speaking background were sent to schools in which the teachers spoke only French, and used textbooks and materials which were exclusively in French. In a carefully designed longitudinal study, the students in this school were compared to students who were monolingual both in French and English. The researcher commented as follows:

> To our surprise, our bilingual youngsters in Montreal scored significantly higher than carefully matched monolinguals on both verbal and non-verbal measures of intelligence; they were further advanced in school grade than the monolinguals, and they performed as well or better on various tests of competence in French (the language of schooling) than did the monolingual controls at the same time as they out performed the controls by far on all tests of competence in English. Furthermore, their pattern of test results indicated that they, relative to monolinguals, had developed a more diversified structure of intelligence and more flexibility and thought, those very features of cognition that very likely determine the depth and breadth of language competence.

What is so startling about these findings is that reading and writing were first taught to the children in a foreign language. In every instance, the ability to read and write English transferred easily when written material in the native language was introduced. In fact, with regard to reading skill, the bilingual students soon out performed those who had been taught to read and write monolingually. The first research on immersion schools was done in the early 1960s. Since then similar schools have been set up and research has been conducted all over the world involving different pairs of languages and all social economic groups including black children from urban areas. The results are always the same; children in this kind of bilingual program end up out performing monolingual controls not only in reading and writing, but also in the acquisition of science, mathematics, and other academic subjects. Confirmations can be found from carefully conducted research in such varied parts of the world as Singapore (Torrance et al., 1970), Switzerland (Balken, 1970), South Africa (Ianco-Worrall, 1972), Israel and New York (Ben-Zeev, 1972), Western Canada (Cummins and Gulustan, 1973), Montreal (Scott, 1973).

Lambert's Summary of the Impact of Bilingualism on Thought and Language

On April 3, 1981, the internationally-known linguistic researcher, Wallace E. Lambert, delivered a paper at UW-Stevens Point at the Conference on Basic Skills Across the Curriculum. His topic was "Thinking and Learning with One Language or More." As part of his presentation he summarized international research findings on the effects of "additive" types of bilingual programs. His review of the research in this area is given below.

> All of these studies indicate that bilingual young people, relative to monolingual controls, show definite cognitive and linguistic advantages as these are reflected in measures of "cognitive flexibility," "creativity," "divergent thought," or "problem solving." Ben Zeev's study (1972), for example, involved Hebrew-English bilingual children in New York and Israel and her results strongly support the conclusion that bilinguals have greater "cognitive flexibility" in the sense that her bilinguals had greater skill at auditory reorganization of verbal materials, a much more "flexible manipulation of the linguistic code," and more sophistication in "concrete operational thinking," as these were measured in her investigation. Ianco-Worrall's study (1972) involved Afrikaans-English bilingual children in Pretoria, South Africa, and it lends equally strong support for a somewhat different form of cognitive flexibility, an advantage bilinguals show over monolingual controls in separating word meaning from word sound, her bilinguals were some two years more advanced in this feature of cognitive development, one that Leopold (1949) felt to be so characteristic of the "liberated thought" of bilinguals. Worrall also found a bilingual precocity in the realization of the arbitrariness of assignments of names to referents, a feature of thinking that Vigotsky (1962) believed was a reflection of insight and sophistication. The study by Scott (1973) of French-English bilinguals in Montreal is important because it involved a comparison of two groups of young children one of which had been given the opportunity to become bilingual over a period of years while the second group of comparable youngsters had not been

given this opportunity. Scott worked with data collected over a seven-year period from two groups of English-Canadian children, one which had become functionally bilingual in French during the time period through "immersion schooling" in French, while the second group had followed a conventional English-language education program. Scott focused on the possible effects that becoming bilingual might have on "divergent thinking," a special type of cognitive flexibility (see Guilford, 1950, 1956). Measures of divergent thinking provide the subject with a starting point for thought--"think of a paper clip"--and ask the subject to generate a whole series of permissible solutions--"tell me all the things one could do with it." Some researchers have considered divergent thinking as an index of creativity (e.g., Getzels and Jackson, 1962), or at least an index of a right imagination and an ability to scan rapidly a host of possible solutions. The results, based on a multivariate analysis, showed that the functionally bilingual youngsters were, at grades 5 and 6, substantially higher scorers than the monolinguals with whom they had been equated for IQ and social class background at the first-grade level. Although the numbers of children in each group are small, this study supports the casual link between bilingualism and flexibility, with bilingualism apparently the factor that enhanced flexibility.

There is, then, an impressive array of evidence accumulating that argues plainly against the common sense notion that becoming bilingual--having two linguistic systems within one's brain--naturally divides a person's cognitive resources and reduces his efficiency of thought and/or language. Instead, one can now put forth a very strong argument that there are definite cognitive and language advantages to being bilingual. Only further research will tell us how this advantage, assuming it is a reliable phenomenon, actually works. Perhaps it is a matter of bilinguals being better able to store information; perhaps it is the greater separation of linguistic symbols from their referents or the ability to separate word meaning from word sound; perhaps it is the contrasts of linguistic systems that bilinguals continually make that aids them in the development of general conceptual thought, or whatever. My own working hypothesis is that bilingualism provides a person with a comparative, three-dimensional insight into language, a type of stereolinguistic optic on communication that the monolingual rarely experiences. Bilingualism also helps protect a person against "reification," the human tendency to attribute thing qualities to all non-things that happen to have names (like soul, spirit, kindness, etc.). The protection comes in the form of the bilingual person's better realization that names are essentially arbitrary assignments. This realization along with the distance bilinguals can keep between names and referents makes them better able to play with words and their meanings, in other words to be creative. Whatever the ultimate explanation, this new trend in research should give second thoughts to those who have used the bilingual deficit notion as an argument for melting down ethnic groups. Hopefully, too, it will provide a new perspective for members of ethnolinguistic groups who may have been led to believe that bilingualism is nothing but a handicap.

Additive versus Subtractive Forms of Bilingualism

One feature of the studies just reviewed merits special attention. In each of the settings referred to (Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, Israel, New York, Montreal) we are dealing with bilinguals for whom the two languages involved have social value and respect. Knowing Afrikaans and English in South Africa, Hebrew and English in New York and Israel, or French as well as English in Montreal, would in each case be adding a second, socially relevant language to one's repertory of skills. In none of these settings would the learning of the second language necessarily portend the slow replacement of the first or "home" language, as would be the case for most linguistic minority groups in North America who are pressured to develop high-level skills in English at the expense of their home languages. We refer to the former instances as examples of "additive" bilingualism and we draw a sharp contrast with the "subtractive" form of bilingualism experienced by ethnolinguistic minority groups, who, because of national educational policies and/or social pressures of various sorts, feel forced to put aside or subtract out their ethnic languages for a more necessary and prestigious national language (Lambert, 1974). In the subtractive case, one's degree of bilinguality at any point in time would likely reflect a state in the disuse of the ethnic home language and its associated cultural accompaniments and its replacement with another more "necessary" language. This form of bilingualism can be devastating because it usually places youngsters in a psycholinguistic limbo where neither language is useful as a tool of thought and expression, a type of "semi-lingualism" as Skutnegg-Kangas & Toukomaa (1976) put it.

Factors Causing Failure in Bilingual Programs

It appears that programs which either implicitly or explicitly downplay the language background or culture of the student regularly show poor results. Small children who are made to feel that the language of the dominant culture is somehow superior to the one they grew up with tend to do poorly in school both in the home language and the the school language. Such programs are "subtractive" in that the students are made to feel that, in order to gain the second language, they are compelled to give up their first language and the culture to which it relates. By contrast immersion schools and developmental bilingual programs carry to students the conviction that they are gaining a new way of communicating and a new cultural outlook on the world. Thus, it appears that the term "bilingual education" covers everything from prestige immersion schooling to minimal-effort transitional programs in which the student is actively discouraged from using the home language. Thus, much remains to be done in the area of clarifying what bilingual education is and should be. In this regard the following summary by Troike seems appropriate:

> Until we have better information on what conditions promote or retard achievement ... the general rubric "bilingual program" will not prove very helpful in efforts to determine why bilingual education has succeeded in some circumstances more than in others.

A recent study by two Finnish researchers on the achievement of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden may have revolutionary significance for the education of linguistic minorities. In a study for the Finnish UNESCO Commission, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976, 1977) found that if children immigrated to Sweden when they were a pre-school or primary-level age, they fell within the lower 10 percent of Swedish children in Swedish language skills. However, if they were 10 to 12 years of age when they immigrated, and had had five to six years of education in their native language in Finland, they were much more likely to approach the norms of Swedish students when both were tested in Swedish. In particular, achievement in math, chemistry, and physics correlated highly with Finnish language skills. Similar anecdotal observations have been made of children who immigrated to the United States from Mexico after grade six. It is a common experience that such students rather quickly acquire English and soon out-perform Chicano students who have been in United States schools since grade one.

The Finnish researchers present powerful evidence to suggest that if children are submersed in instruction in another language before the age of ten, it exerts a destabilizing effect on the development of their native language as a tool for cognitive organization, and they may fail to acquire the ability to use the second language for such purposes, with the result that they become semilingual, i.e., not fully competent to carry out complex cognitive operations in either language.

These findings, which indicate that the best educational solution might be to provide schooling entirely in the student's native language for the first five grades, appear, at least superficially, to contradict the well-known results of experiments in immersion programs for English speakers in Canada and the United States (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Cohen et al., 1975). In such programs, it has been demonstrated that students continue to achieve at grade level in English even though they have received no instruction in it. How can this contradiction be explained?

The most probable explanation derives from the fact that both the Finnish and Chicano children belong to dominated minorities. Such students, in beginning their education in a second language, are subjected to various forms of discrimination and disvaluation of their language and culture during a critical developmental period, while students who have escaped this experience quickly overcome the language barrier and function successfully in their second language. The difference then, may be ascribed to what Lambert has called subtractive vs. additive bilingualism.

But at an even more fundamental level, the issue may not be one of language at all, but rather the relative social and cultural status of groups in the community. It is significant that the children who succeed so notably in immersion programs are for the most part middle-class children from supportive homes whose language and culture are in no way threatened or demeaned by their being taught in another language. In the Finnish research, on the other hand, it has been shown that children's competence in their native language declines sharply when they begin school in a second language. It is this latter situation that characterizes most linguistic minority groups in this country.

These considerations would suggest that the sucess of bilingual education in providing equal educational opportunity for subordinated minorities may rest on matters far deeper and more fundamental than the merely linguistic. That this is not simply a question of providing a "warm, accepting environment," however, or attempting to enhance the student's self-concept, is shown by the fact that programs that do both may still fail to produce any improvement in achievement. The whole issue, as with many others, is one that can be resolved only by much more basic--not just operational--research than we have at present.

Frank Grittner
September, 1981

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II. DISCUSSION OUTLINE ON VARIOUS TYPES OF PROGRAMS FOR MEETING THE NEEDS OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN

A. BILINGUAL/BICULTURAL EDUCATION

1. Staff

   a) There is a certified bilingual teacher who is from the target culture or who has lived in the target culture and who is fluent and literate in the language (both English and the home language).

   b) There is usually an aide or liaison person who is a native speaker and knows English; the educational background is at least equivalent to a high school education.

   c) There are often tutorial assistants (peers, ESL specialists, volunteer tutors, etc.) to work with individuals or small groups.

   d) Bilingual/bicultural guidance counselors are included in larger programs.

2. Program Characteristics

   a) Instruction in basic subjects is conducted in two languages.

   b) Students learn to read and write in Enlgish and in the native language.

   c) Students have access to the bilingual/bicultural program until they can function exclusively in English in the school programs.

   d) There may be a Developmental Option (locally funded only). Developmental courses are in the student's home language. Examples:

      1) Spanish for Spanish speakers.

      2) Vietnamese literature,

      3) Hmong folktales,

      4) Puerto Rican history,

      5) Spanish typing and stenography.

   e) There may be a program aimed at retrieval and maintenance of the home language and culture (Indian groups primarily are involved in such programs).

    1) The non-English language is taught like a foreign language.

    2) The customs and history of the group are part of the curriculum.

    3) Pride in one's heritage is emphasized throughout the order to help pupils build a better self-concept.

3. Materials

   a) There are parallel textbooks in both languages which reflect the local curriculum. Examples:

      1) Dual math books,

      2) Readers in both languages,

      3) Science texts and materials in both languages,

      4) History texts in both languages.

   b) Dual-language audiovisual materials are also available.

4. Goals (Depending on program type)

   a) Developmental or "maintenance" bilingual programs are designed to produce literate, fluent bilingual citizens who can function well in American society or in the society of the home language.

   b) Transitional bilingual programs are designed to bridge the student's progress into the English-speaking school system so that he or she can function successfully in the school program exclusively in English. (No effort is made to preserve the home language.) Examples:

      1) No Spanish for Spanish speakers,

      2) No history or cultural courses about the home country taught in the foreign language. (However, American history would possibly be taught in either language.)

      3) Teaching of the home language as a second or foreign language would not be included.

   c) Retrieval programs are designed to revive the home language and culture, to develop an improved self-concept in pupils by giving a positive view of their language and culture, and develop a substantial supply of appropriate texts and materials.

5. Summary

a) The term developmental involves full dual language and cultural goals; producing literate bilinguals is the desired outcome.

b) The term transitional equals "phase out" of the non-English language from the school setting. The home language is used only in the interim period.

c) The terms ESL (English as a Second Language) or TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) call for learning through English only.

Transitional and ESL programs require:

1) Entrance criteria proving limited English proficiency (L.E.P.) and linking low school achievement to L.E.P.

2) Exit criteria showing that the student can function in English and no longer needs the support of the home language.

NOTE: State and federal programs are virtually all transitional in nature. However, local schools have sometimes opted for developmental components at local expense.

B. LEGAL ASPECTS -- NON-COMPLIANCE

1. Federal Regulations

a) Lau-Nichols decision: There were 1,800 Chinese-speaking children in San Francisco. A Supreme Court decision was that it is not sufficient to teach L.E.P. children solely by means of English. In fact, to do so constitutes a violation of their civil rights. There must be a special program for L.E.P. children.

b) There was the Shirley Hufstedler ruling mandating bilingual education as the sole remedy. Terrel Bell threw this out as a federal regulation. Schools can use bilingual education, but such programs cannot be mandated from federal level. HOWEVER, many states -- including Wisconsin -- still mandate transitional bilingual programs if large L.E.P. concentrations exist.

2. State Program - Chapter 115, Subchapter VII, Wisconsin Statutes

a) Each year in March, schools must count the number of limited English speaking ability (LESA) students and submit the results to DPI.

b) A program is mandated if certain numbers of students are present at certain grade levels in a single school building. The school district must have a bilingual program if --

in grades K-3, there are 10 or more students of a given language background.

in grades 4-8, there are 20 or more students of the same language background.

in grades 9-12, there are 20 or more students of the same language background.

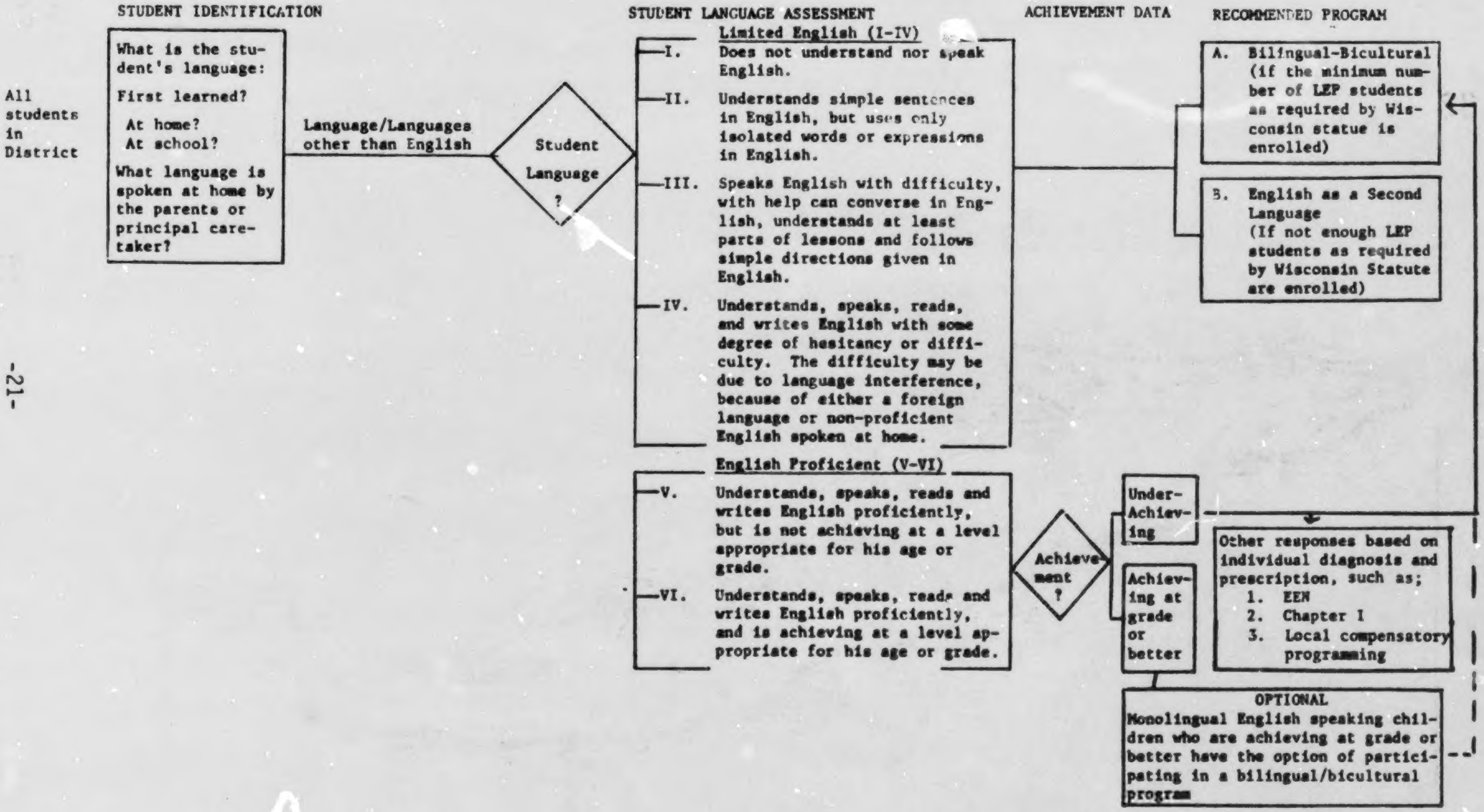
c) For schools that qualify, up to 70 percent of the cost of the program is reimbursed by the state.

d) In order to qualify, the district must have certified bilingual teachers or special DPI approval.

Frank M. Grittner

FLOWCHART B

IDENTIFICATION AND ASSESSMENT OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT STUDENTS


STUDENT IDENTIFICATION
STUDENT LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT
ACHIEVEMENT DATA
RECOMMENDED PROGRAM
All students in District
Language/Languages other than English
Student Language ?
Achievement ?
Under-Achieving
Achieving at grade or better

What is the student's language:

First learned?

At home?
At school?

What language is spoken at home by the parents or principal caretaker?

Limited English (I-IV)

- I. Does not understand nor speak English.
- II. Understands simple sentences in English, but uses only isolated words or expressions in English.
- III. Speaks English with difficulty, with help can converse in English, understands at least parts of lessons and follows simple directions given in English.
- IV. Understands, speaks, reads, and writes English with some degree of hesitancy or difficulty. The difficulty may be due to language interference, because of either a foreign language or non-proficient English spoken at home.

English Proficient (V-VI)

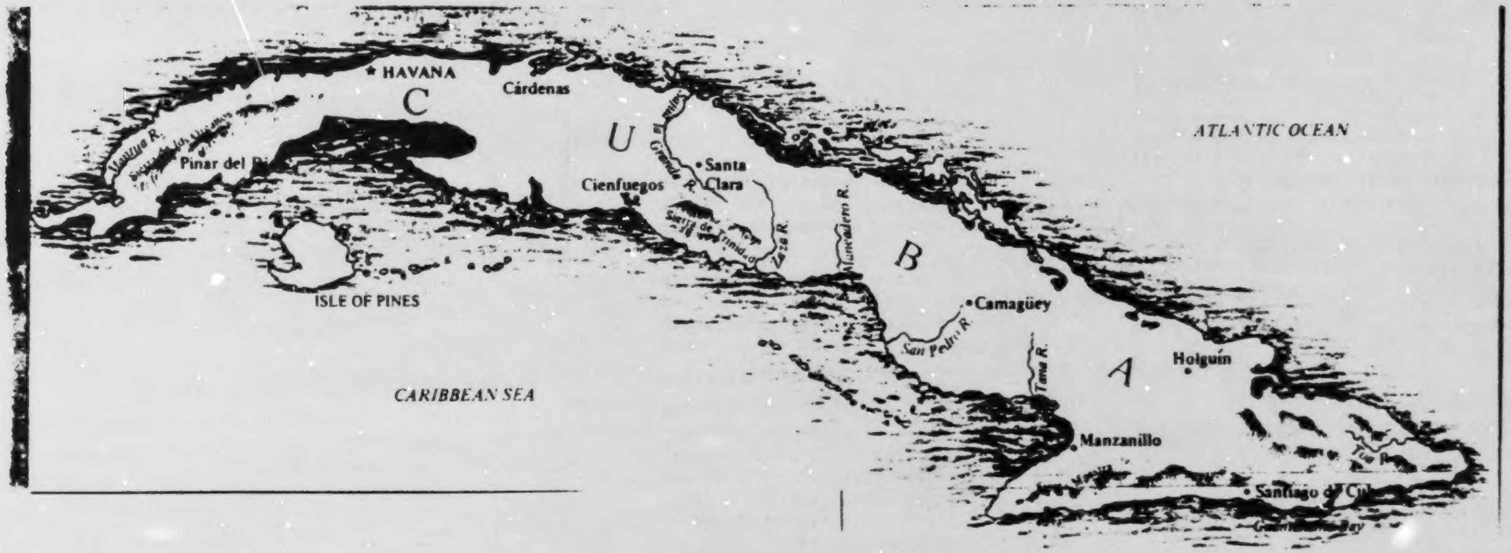
- V. Understands, speaks, reads and writes English proficiently, but is not achieving at a level appropriate for his age or grade.
- VI. Understands, speaks, reads and writes English proficiently, and is achieving at a level appropriate for his age or grade.

A. Bilingual-Bicultural (if the minimum number of LEP students as required by Wisconsin statue is enrolled)

B. English as a Second Language (If not enough LEP students as required by Wisconsin Statute are enrolled)

Other responses based on individual diagnosis and prescription, such as;
1. EEN
2. Chapter I
3. Local compensatory programming

OPTIONAL
Monolingual English speaking children who are achieving at grade or better have the option of participating in a bilingual/bicultural program


HAVANA
C
Cárdenas
U
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Mantua R.
Pinar del Río
Santa Clara
Cienfuegos
Grande R.
Sierra de Trinidad
Zaza R.
B
ISLE OF PINES
Camagüey
San Pedro R.
Tana R.
A
Holguín
CARIBBEAN SEA
Manzanillo
Santiago de Cuba
Guantánamo Bay

CUBA

III. HISPANIC STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN: CUBANS

A. CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF CUBAN STUDENTS

In 1980 over 124,000 Cubans left their homeland to seek political asylum in the United States. The mass exodus created logistical problems with regard to the processing and relocation of the refugees. With a depressed American economy and unrealistic expectations on the part of some of the recent arrivals and the personnel from the host country, the resettlement process was marred by riots in a few of the refugee camps and an apparent increase in the crime rate in the major relocation areas. Long-established Cuban-Americans who had successfully adapted and contributed to the American way of life felt their reputations tarnished in the community. What follows is an attempt to understand the land and people of the island nation whose history is inextricably woven with ours.

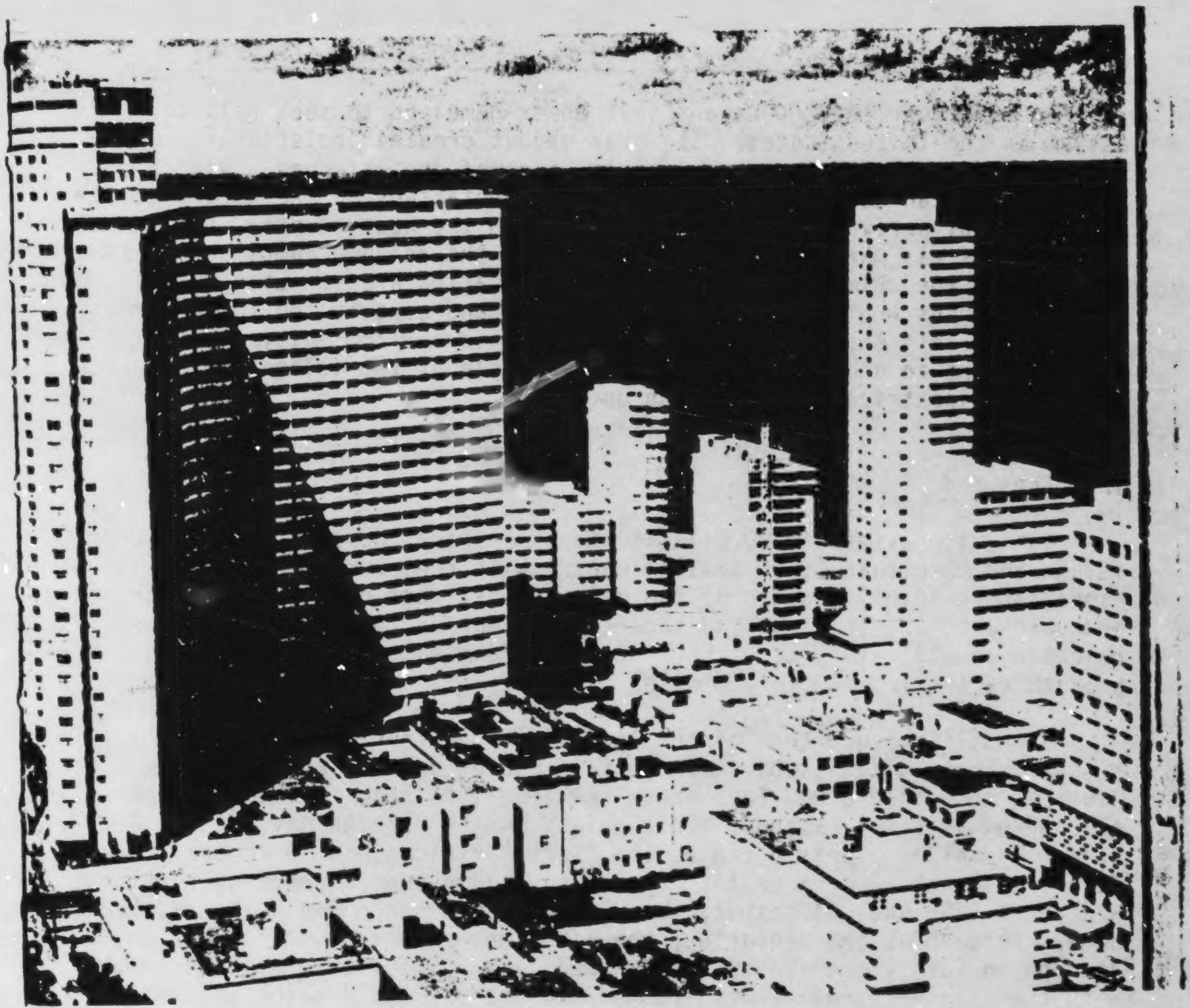
1. The Land

Cuba, approximately 90 miles south of Florida, consists of one large island and more than 1,600 smaller ones. With the exception of the Isle of Pines, about 40 miles south of the main island, most of the islands are tiny and uninhabited. The long and tapering contour of the island, said to resemble an alligator, stretches 750 miles from east to west. However, its breadth varies from 60 to 120 miles maximum.

Almost three-quarters of the land is either level or has gently rolling slopes. Three widely separated mountain ranges dot the country. The Sierra Maestra, more than 6,000 feet above sea level, is near the southeastern coast and served as Fidel Castro's hiding place in the earlier days of the Revolution. A smaller mountain range, the Sierra Trinidad, is in central Cuba. To the west, the Sierra de los Organos have limestone formations that have weathered into unusual shapes, some resembling organ pipes -- hence, the name. Throughout the centuries, the limestone covering much of the island decomposed into a deep layer of dark red clay. The rich clay in tandem with the rain patterns -- wet from May to October and dry the rest of the year -- provide excellent conditions for growing a wide variety of crops (see Appendix A: Foods). Sugarcane has thrived lushly there for years, making Cuba the largest exporter of this crop in the world.

2. The People

Cuba has a population of approximately 10 million people who live primarily in urban centers. Nearly 2 million live in La Habana, the capital and largest city. About three-quarters of the Cubans are white, mainly of Spanish descent, and the rest mostly black or mulatto (persons of mixed black and white ancestry) except for a few Orientals.



Habana - capital and largest city of Cuba.

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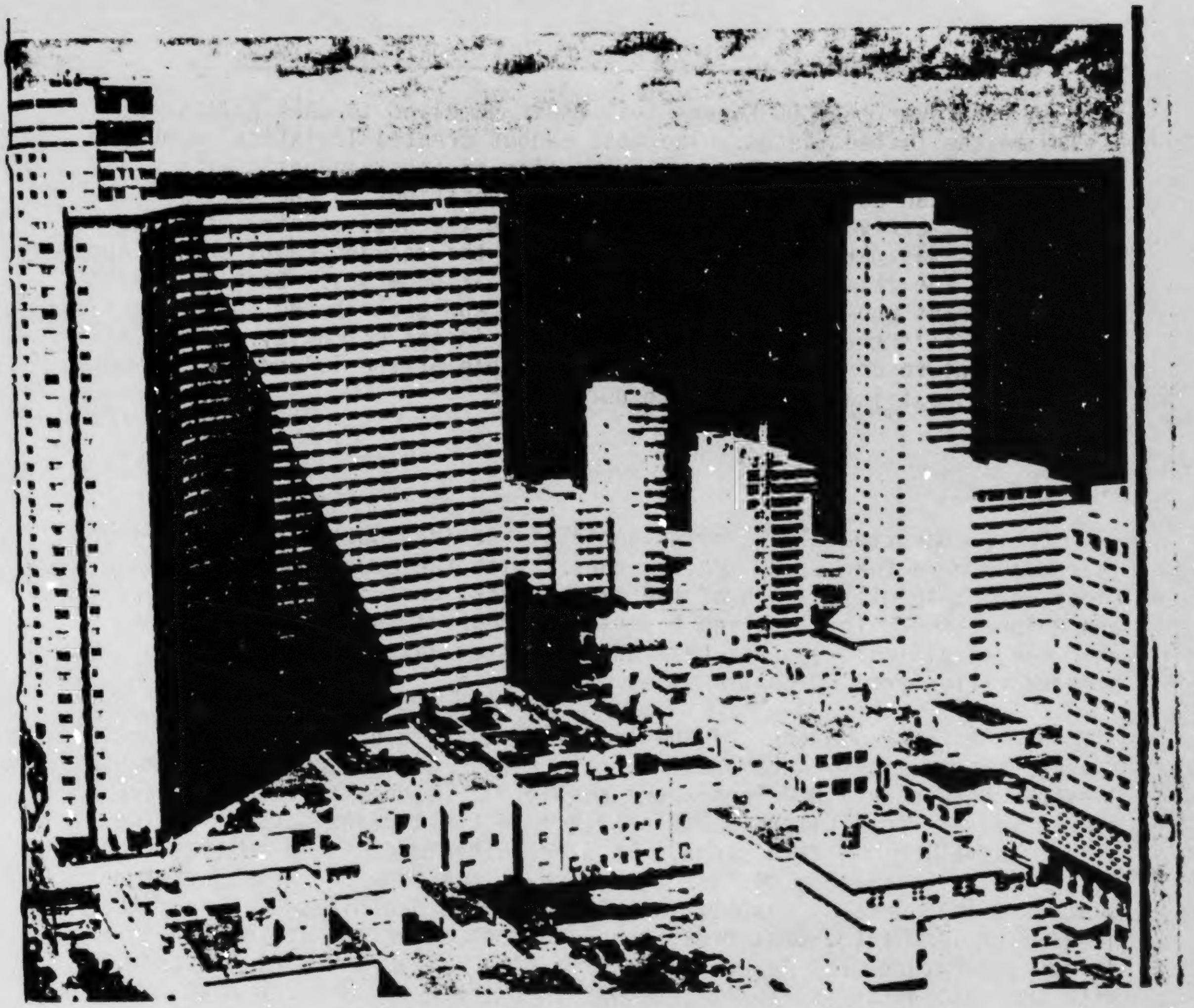


Habana - capital and largest city of Cuba.

HISTORY

3. Early Days

On his first journey to the New World, Christopher Columbus explored the northeastern coast of Cuba. Nearly twenty years elapsed before the Spanish built their first colony on the island under the leadership of Diego Velasquez. The prospect of finding gold attracted white settlers who forced the native Indians to search for what little could be found of the precious metal. Harsh treatment resulted in many Indians fleeing from the island or perishing there.

The population and economy showed no dramatic growth until the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1762 the British briefly seized Habana and greatly increased the commercial ties between Cuba and their North American Colonies. The Colonists chiefly wanted sugar and, after the American Revolutionary War, the market for this crop grew even larger. To meet the demands, planters imported large numbers of slaves from Africa.

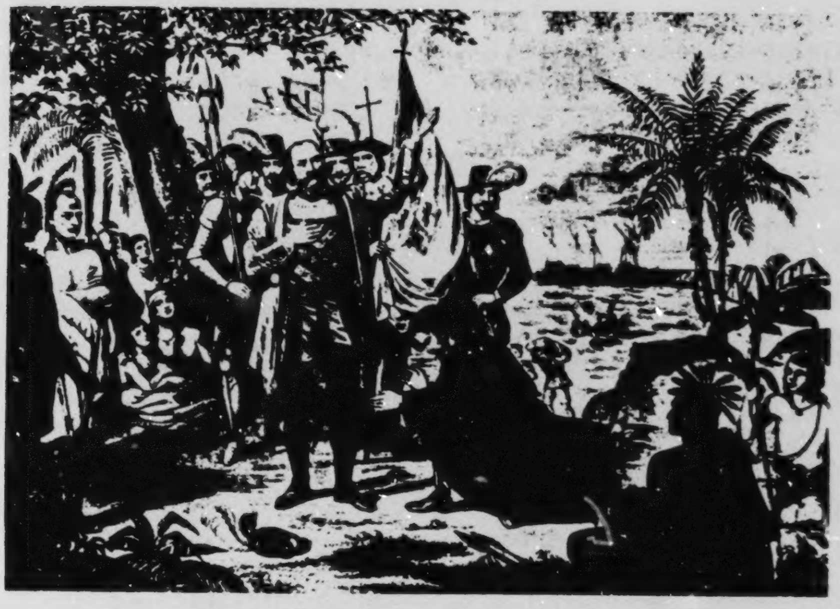
4. Independence

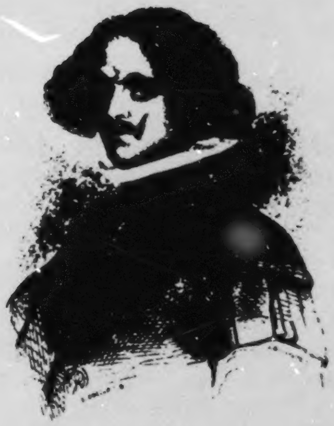
By 1825, the Spanish Empire in the New World had dwindled to Cuba and Puerto Rico. Several United States Presidents offered to buy Cuba from Spain. Southerners were especially eager to annex the island and make it another slave state. However, Spain, determined to hold onto the island at any cost, tightened its grip on the Cubans. Creoles, persons of Spanish ancestry born in the New World, became increasingly dissatisfied with the authoritarian rule of the mother-land. Peasants were living in miserable poverty. The unrest came to a head in October, 1868, when Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, a wealthy Creole planter, and thirty-seven other planters proclaimed the *Grito de Yara* (the Cry of Yara, a town near Cespedes' plantation). This initial war of independence lasted a full decade (The Ten Years' War) and resulted in the loss of over 250,000 lives and the destruction of thousands of acres of crops. Spain, nonetheless, retained control over Cuba.

Continued disgust with Spain's tyranny and taxation led to another revolt in 1895. One of the major leaders of the War of Independence (1895-1898) was the poet and journalist Jose Marti. Imprisoned and subsequently barred from his homeland, Marti was determined to free Cuba from Spanish oppression. Moreover, he wanted an independent Cuba that would not fall prey to the political and economic strings of the United States. In February 1895, Marti secretly returned to Cuba and, although not trained as a soldier, insisted on fighting alongside the other rebels. Shortly thereafter a Spanish sniper shot him down while he was riding to battle. Charles Dana, editor of *The New York City Sun* and one of the most famous newspapermen of the period, published the following about Marti, one of his journalists:

> He was a man of genius, of imagination, of hope, and of courage. . . His heart was so impassioned that it seemed to be full of fire; his opinions were ardent and full of aspirations, and he died as a man of his temperament would desire to die, struggling for liberty and democracy. . . .[1]

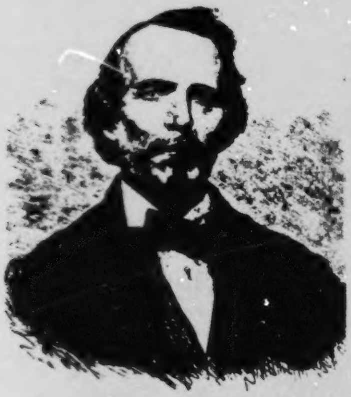
Columbus lands in Cuba, October 28, 1492, fifteen days after sighting land in the New World.



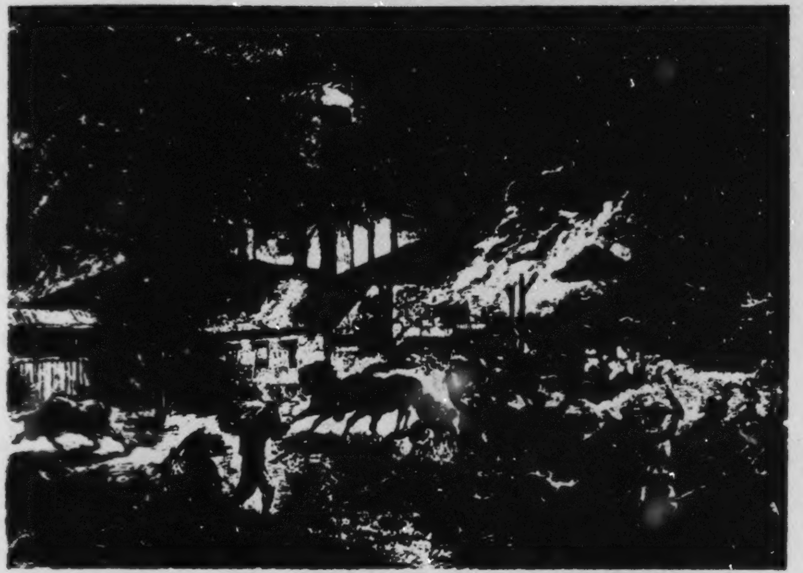


Don Diego Velásquez, established a Spanish colony in Baracoa, Cuba (1511).

Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, leader in 1868 of Cuba's first war for independence. It was he who said, "With twelve men I have enough to free Cuba."



"Butcher" Weyler, officer sent by Spain to put down the rebellion led by de Céspedes.



Fighting for independence—1869. Ten Years' rebellion against Spanish rule consisted of guerilla hit-and-run attacks.

All Cubans venerate Jose Marti as the father of their homeland and celebrate his birthday January 28, often reciting lines from his poetry:

La Rosa Blanca

Cultivo una rosa blanca,
en junio como en enero,
para el amigo sincero
que me da su mano franca.
Y para el cruel que me arranca
el corazón con que vivo,
cardo ni ortiga cultivo:
cultivo la rosa blanca.

The White Rose

I cultivate a white rose
in June as in January,
for the sincere friend
that offers me his generous hand.
And for the cruel one who tears
the heart with which I live,
thistle nor nettle I cultivate;
I cultivate the white rose.

Americans primarily know of Marti's poetry through the popular song Guantanamera, which bear his words:

Yo so un hombre sincero
de donde crece la palma,
y antes de morirme quiero
echar mis versos del alma.

Mi verso es de un verde claro
y de un carmín encendido:
mi verso es un ciervo herido
que busca en el monte amparo.

Guantanamera, gujira, Guantanamera.

I am a truthful man
from the land where the palm tree grows,
and before dying I want
to pour forth the verses from my soul.

My verse is like clear green
and like burning crimson:
my verse is a wounded fawn
seeking refuge in the woods.

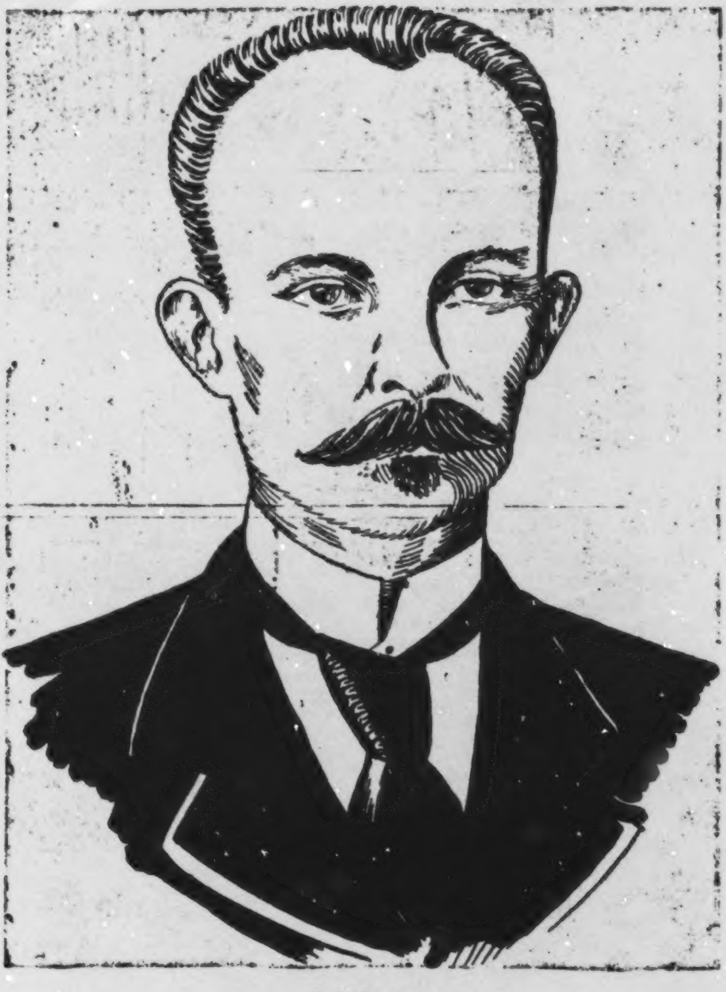
(Guantanamera = girl from the town of
of Guantanamo; guajira = country girl).

The United States, shocked by the cruel treatment of the Cubans, echoed the cry "Cuba Libre" ("Free Cuba"). To protect the lives and property of its citizens, the American government sent the battleship Maine to Habana. A mysterious explosion sank the ship with 260 American sailors aboard. No one knew exactly how the explosion occurred; nevertheless, it sparked the United States to declare war on Spain.

5. The First Cuban-American

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, numerous Cubans had settled in the northern industrial cities of the United States, especially in New York and Philadelphia, and in the sugar and tobacco growing regions along the Gulf of Mexico. The most significant Cuban colony flourished in the booming town of Tampa. In the 1880's, Vincente Martinez Ybor, who enjoyed a well-earned reputation in the cigar industry in Key West and Habana, opened a tobacco factory in Tampa and quickly attracted Conchs (natives of Key West) and Cubans to work in the rapidly developing tobacco industry.

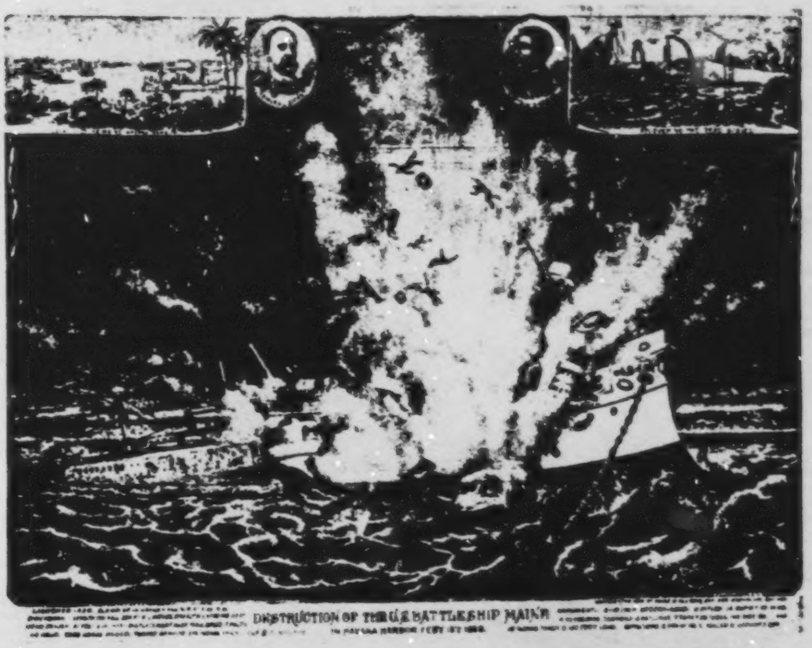
Cubans settled in a section of Tampa called Ybor city, in honor of the tobacco entrepreneur. Life in Ybor City at the beginning had little to offer besides work. Lack of conveniences and the constant threat of deadly malaria hung over them. (It should be pointed out that Dr. Carlos Finlay, a Cuban doctor on the island initially proposed the theory that the fever [mal-aire



José Martí

U.S. INTERVENTION

Explosion of the Maine*—February 15, 1898—event that precipitated U.S. intervention in the Spanish-American War.*


DESTRUCTION OF THE U.S. BATTLESHIP MAINE

Next morning, hull of Maine *was towed away from harbor mouth and sunk.*

General Joseph Wheeler, Colonel Leonard Wood, and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt in the Spanish-American War. 2

or bad air] was spread by a mosquito. The American medical commission in Cuba, under Dr. Walter Reed, subsequently proved the truth of Finlay's theory.) Little cultural diversion existed in early Tampa, and leisure hours entailed playing dominos, a game Cubans still relish, or visiting the homes of friends. Cuban cigarmakers showed slight fondness for religious matters. Few men attended church services, leaving that role to the women of the home.

With the beneficial influence of the cigar industry, richly thriving due to the high quality of tobacco from Cuba, and the recognized skills of the Cuban immigrants, Tampa prospered substantially as a young city. Houses, a fine new hotel, restaurants and other establishments sprung up. Regular ship service connected Habana, Key West and Tampa. Travelers entering American territory did not have to comply with immigration requirements. The great success in Tampa stimulated industrialists from the North to transfer their factories there. This increased the number of workers in the city, the majority of whom were Cubans unhappy with the Spanish regime in their native land. Newspapers and magazines in Spanish flourished. The tabloid *El Yara* waged a brave and tenacious campaign in Tampa and Key West against Spanish oppression in Cuba.

In 1890, the *Liceo Cubano* (*The Cuban Lyceum*) was established to further the fine arts in the community. There, Jose Marti delivered one of his most moving speeches on behalf of Cuban independence.

The Cuban colony continued to prosper in Tampa until the end of World War I, when the United States government modified its immigration laws. Despite the amalgamation process, Cubans have retained vestiges of their heritage, as witnessed in the prosperous section of Ybor City. A bigger wave of Cubans would come in the 1960's, but they would enter primarily through Miami and partially relocate in the North.[3]

6. A Republic Is Formed

After the Spanish-American War (1898), the United States governed Cuba until the people could form their own government in 1901. As a condition for independence from the United States, Cubans had to agree to include certain provisions in their constitution. These provisions, known as the Platt Amendments, gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba in order to maintain the island's independence and to protect American interests there. They also allowed the United States to lease Cuban land for military bases, such as the Guantanamo Naval Base in the southeastern part of the island. The Cubans resented the Platt Amendments, since the latter made the new nation almost a satellite of the United States. Finally, in 1934, the United States canceled the Amendments, except for the provision to keep the Guantanamo Naval Base.

The first elections for a president and congress were held in 1901. The people elected Tomas Estrada Palma as their first president. He tried to govern wisely but encountered strong opposition from power-hungry politicians and military officers. To squelch the fighting that erupted, Palma asked the United States to intervene. The Americans remained until the Second Republic was formed in 1909. However, the country failed to achieve a stable democracy. Elections were often dishonest and fraught with violence. Politicians were frequently more concerned with accumulating personal fortunes than governing the country democratically. The problems of the people were neglected and many continued to live in extreme poverty.

Fulgencio Batista emerged as the most powerful political leader in the 1940's and 1950's. He encouraged United States businessmen to invest heavily in the island so that by the '50's American firms controlled about 40 percent of the Cuban sugar industry, half of the country's trains and 90 percent of the public utilities. Americans also invested in other industries including tobacco, ranching and oil refining.

The United States government saw Batista as a friend who welcomed investments and maintained stability in the country. However, a substantial number of people in both countries resented Batista's corrupt financial practices and his neglect of the needs of the poor. The worst charges against him sprung up after 1952 when his reputation grew as a brutal and ruthless dictator.

7. Castro Takes Over

Castro's first attempt to overthrow Batista occurred July 26, 1953. He led a group of about 170 youths who tried to capture a large army post. The efforts failed and many of those captured were executed. Castro's life was spared and a year and a half later he walked out of prison under strict orders to curtail his political activism. But to Castro, the army-post incident was the beginning of his 26th of July Movement, which would eventually topple Batista.

After his release from prison, Castro moved to Mexico, where he trained mainly Cuban exiles in guerrilla warfare. People in Latin America and the United States who wanted Batista ousted donated funds to Castro. Finally in November 1956 Castro and 81 of his followers squeezed into an old yacht, the Granma, and headed for Cuba. With the exception of Castro and 11 others, all the rebels lost their lives to Batista's forces. The dozen men went into hiding in the Sierra Maestra mountains.

Gradually, the guerrilla band rallied support from nearby farmers who believed Castro's struggle was theirs, too. Cubans joined the 26th of July Movement sparingly at first, but later by the thousands. In the final months of 1958, the course of the war moved rapidly toward a total rebel victory. When Santa Clara, a city in central Cuba, fell on December 31, Batista knew he had lost, and he slipped out of Habana.

Castro promised that his Revolution would bring sweeping changes in the economy, the government and the way of life for the people. His soldiers rounded up his enemies who were swiftly tried, sent to prison or publicly executed.

Many Cubans fled from their homeland when Castro took power. They left because the new regime confiscated their businesses and property. When it became clear that Cuba was turning into a Communist state, large numbers of professionals and skilled workers sought refuge in the United States and elsewhere, instead of being forced to work for Castro's government. Some of the exiles, determined to rid Cuba of Castro, were willing to risk their lives for their cause. These exiles volunteered for the ill-fated Central Intelligence Agency's Bay of Pigs invasion on April 15, 1961. The attack drove Castro into an even closer alliance with the Soviets.

LIFE UNDER CASTRO

8. Education

Castro's government did away with private and parochial schools and embarked upon building the most extensive educational system in Latin America. From pre-school day-care units to the island's four universities and many vocational schools, all education was to be free. Some of the elementary school pupils and most of those in secondary schools would now go to boarding schools, located mainly in the countryside. The typical boarding school is near a large farm or orchard, where the students work half a day and attend classes the other half. Students return home for the weekends and vacations. While Castro's achievements in restructuring Cuban education have been lauded, they cover up the control and indoctrinations exerted over the students to conform to the regime's doctrine.

9. Sports

Baseball is by far the most popular sport. For years, numerous Cuban players have played in the United States. Recent major league players include: Luis Tiant, Tony Perez, Mike Cuellar, Jose Cardenal, Tito Fuentes and Bert Campaneris.

10. Arts

Artists, whether painters, musicians or writers, must comply with the standards of Castro's dictatorship. The most outstanding musical group is the National Ballet, headed by the internationally famous ballerina, Alicia Alonso. Literature has suffered the greatest censorship. The best known example involved the dissident poet Herberto Padilla, who, after receiving the 1968 Cuban Writers' Union Award, was incarcerated and not released until he publicly retracted the verses detrimental to the government.[4]

Perhaps the most famous Cuban poet still living on the island is Nicolas Guillen. Born of mulatto parents in 1902, Guillen's involvement in politics and his keen awareness of his social status led him to compose piercing satiric poems. His poem "Cantaliso en un bar" follows:

(Los turistas en el bar;
cantaliso su guitarra,
y un son que comienza a andar).

--No me paguen porque cante
lo que no les cantaré:
ahora tendrán que escucharme
todo lo que antes callé.
¿Quién los llamó?
Gasten su plata,
beban su alcol,

(The tourists at the bar
Cantaliso with his guitar,
and a melody that begins to take shape).

Don't pay me to sing
what I won't sing for you:
now you'll have to listen
to all I have kept quiet.
Who called you over?
Spend your money,
Drink your booze,

cómprense un güiro,

¡pero a mí no,

pero a mí no,
pero a mí no!
Todos estos yanquis rojos
son hijos de un camarón
y los parió una botella,
una botella de ron.
¿Quién los llamó?
Ustedes viven,
me muero yo,
comen y beben,
¡pero yo no,
pero yo no,
pero yo no!

Aunque soy un pobre negro,
sé que el mundo no anda bien;
ay, yo conozco un mecánico,
que lo puede componer.
¿Quién los llamó?
Cuando regresen
a Nueva York,
mándenme pobres
¡como soy yo,
como soy yo,
como soy yo!
A ellos les daré mi mano,
y con ellos cantaré
¡porque el canto que ellos saben
es el mismo que yo sé![5]

Buy yourselves a guiro, (percussion
(instrument made
but you can't buy me (from gourd,
(produces scraping
not me, (sound
not me!
All these red yankees
are children of shrimps
and a bottle gave birth to them,
a bottle of rum.
Who called you over?
you live,
I die,
You eat and drink
but not me,
but not me,
but not me!

Although I'm a poor black,
I know all's not well with the world;
Oh, I know a mechanic
who can repair it.
Who called you over?
When you return
to New York
send me the poor
like me,
like me,
like me!
I'll stretch out my hand to them,
and I'll sing with them,
because the song they know
is the very same one I know!

11. Social Conditions Prompting The Migrations

To gain control over the Cuban society, Castro systematically eliminated the right to self-determination and dissent and progressively stifled incentives for entrepreneurial initiatives. The government nationalized all factories, banks, mines, large businesses and nearly all of the small businesses. The state took over more than 70 percent of the farmlands. Production, however, has not kept up with demands. The government has had to ration most products, including such staples as rice, beans, meat, fruits, coffee and milk. Even sugar has been rationed in the world's biggest sugar exporting nation.

To insure compliance with the State's dogma, Castro instituted La Seguridad del Estado, a powerful repressive organization. The pervasiveness of the government's suppression could readily be surmised by the often repeated complaints of the 1960's refugees. A barber with only four years of schooling had this to say:

Newspaper Granma, Habana - September 20, 1981.

Fidel presents the José Martí National Order to Nicolás Guillén. At the ceremony were participants in the Meeting of Intellectuals, including Colombian Gabriel García Márquez and Mexican Pablo González Casunova.

Fidel presents Nicolás Guillén [illegible]

> It was impossible for us to live, because the Communist committees watched us day and night. Because we refused to cooperate with them, we were called counterrevolutionaries, which made our lives impossible. I want my children to be educated in a democratic system, where they can live in tranquility.

A young, university-educated accountant who worked in a bank had these observations:

> I saw that they had taken everything away from people who had been able to achieve something with honest work. They had confiscated businesses and thrown the owners out--people who, after 40 years of hard work, had been able to achieve something such as building a small house to live in and another one to rent so they could have security in their old age. This just couldn't be. How could they take away even the desire for self-improvement? This is a system in which not only freedom but aspirations are taken away.

Political scientists conclude that the Cuban Revolution stands alone as the most far-reaching and rapidly paced social transformation in the history of Latin America.[6]

12. The 1965-1973 Exodus

On September 28, 1965, Castro responded to mounting domestic pressures and permitted Cubans wishing to rejoin relatives in the United States to leave via the northern fishing port of Camarioca. A ragtag freedom flotilla reunited 4,993 Cubans with their relatives in the United States before it was terminated. Thereafter, the governments of both nations agreed to a family reunification program via the Varadero-Miami airlift, which brought more than a quarter of a million refugees to this country between 1965 and 1973. This exodus provided a good safety valve for the mounting internal pressure in Cuba. It also left vacant housing and jobs for those wishing to remain.

By and large, Cubans from the earlier exodus adapted relatively well to their host country. Their behavior patterns conformed to the expectations of the mainstream culture. Conversely, value accultaration among specific population subgroups was less successful. In many instances, young males overacculturated and older females underacculturated. The excessive use of sedatives and tranquilizers by harrowed middle-aged mothers became a noticeable concern. The plight of the old and sick and those who spoke little English made for a great waste of human resources and for much suffering. Nevertheless, on the whole, Cubans became not only a pervasive influence in local society, notably in South Florida and New Jersey, but also one of its most valuable assets. Greater Miami experienced phenomenal economic prosperity, luring Latin Americans from abroad to invest and shop in an area where Spanish is spoken.

13. The 1980 Mariel Exodus

On April 4, 1980, Castro removed military protection from the Peruvian Embassy in Habana over an incident involving the shooting of a Cuban guard. Within twenty-four hours, 10,800 people crammed into the Peruvian compound. Under such adverse publicity, Castro invited the "community abroad" to come pick up their relatives, in a skillful repetition of the technique proven successful fifteen years earlier. Along with the exiles in the Peruvian Embassy, Castro shipped out what he deemed "undesirables": persons with criminal records, mental and deaf-mute patients, and even lepers. In all 124,779 new emigrates arrived on our shores.

14. Demographic Characteristics of the 1980 Refugees

The 1980 exiles, at times disparagingly called Marielitos in reference to Mariel Harbor from which they departed, are predominantly blue-collar workers (71%). The proportion at the professional-managerial level is a small 8.7% in contrast to the earlier exiles of whom 22% were in that category. In the 1970s, women comprised 57% of the refugees whereas, in 1980, males made up a lopsided majority of 70.2 percent. Rough estimates indicate that at least 20,000 married men were separated from their spouses. A smaller portion of the 1980 refugees are under 18 years of age (20.1%) compared to 33.5% in the 1970s. However, the median age of the recent arrivals tends to be younger, with 68.5% below 36 years of age. A total of 1,761 persons or 1.4% of the new emigrants were classified as felons.[8]

15. The Refugee Camps

Military bases housed the influx of refugees for several months prior to relocation of the last handful in February, 1982. At the outset, no effort was made in the camps to separate criminals, homosexuals and prostitutes from families and minors. This mix later contributed one of the most serious causes of conflict within the camps. Compounding the problem of the language barrier, the personnel at the camps received inadequate orientation with regard to the totalitarian oppression from which the refugees came. To be highly commended are the individuals who unselfishly gave of their time and efforts to ease the dilemma of these immigrants.

16. Ft. McCoy, Wisconsin

Over fourteen thousand Cubans were transferred to Ft. McCoy, Wisconsin, in July, 1980, where they stayed until being resettled with sponsors or programs. This figure included approximately 400 youngsters (18 years old or under) who were the last group of minors in the country assigned to a camp. A high proportion had been institutionalized in Cuba, so their adjustment to Wisconsin required modifications from institutional to socially acceptable behaviors.

A number of them had been jailed for politically related crimes. Table 1 depicts the last 144 youths, nearly all males, processed at Ft. McCoy. The majority had finished elementary school, served a year or less in prison, and had poor or no command of English. The map illustrates where in Wisconsin the bulk of the youths could be found as of December 1980 and January 1982.[9]

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS - CUBAN UNACCOMPANIED MINORS POPULATION IN WISCONSIN*

November, 1980

Male - 95.8%, Female - 4.2%

Average Age - 17.6 years old (as of October 1, 1980)

Education Completed in Cuba	Number	%
10th - 12th grade completed	16	11.1
8th - 9th grade completed	46	31.9
5th - 7th grade completed	46	31.9
3rd - 4th grade completed	16	11.1
Less than 3rd grade completed	17	11.8
Information not available	3	2.1
Total	144	99.9%

Incarceration/Institutionalization in Cuba

123 or 85.4% were incarcerated at some time in Cuban

Length of Incarceration in Months	Number	%
0 months - not incarcerated	21	14.6
0 - 3 months	25	17.4
4 - 6 months	23	16.0
7 - 12 months	28	19.4
13 - 18 months	9	6.3
19 - 24 months	8	5.6
25 - 36 months	15	10.4
37 - 48 months	5	3.5
49 - 60 months	1	0.7
61 - 72 months	2	1.4
72 - 84 months	1	0.7
Length of incarceration unknown	6	4.2
Total	144	100.2%

At least 5 reported spending time in mental institutions or facilities for the mentally retarded in Cuba.

English Language Proficiency Upon Arriving in United States

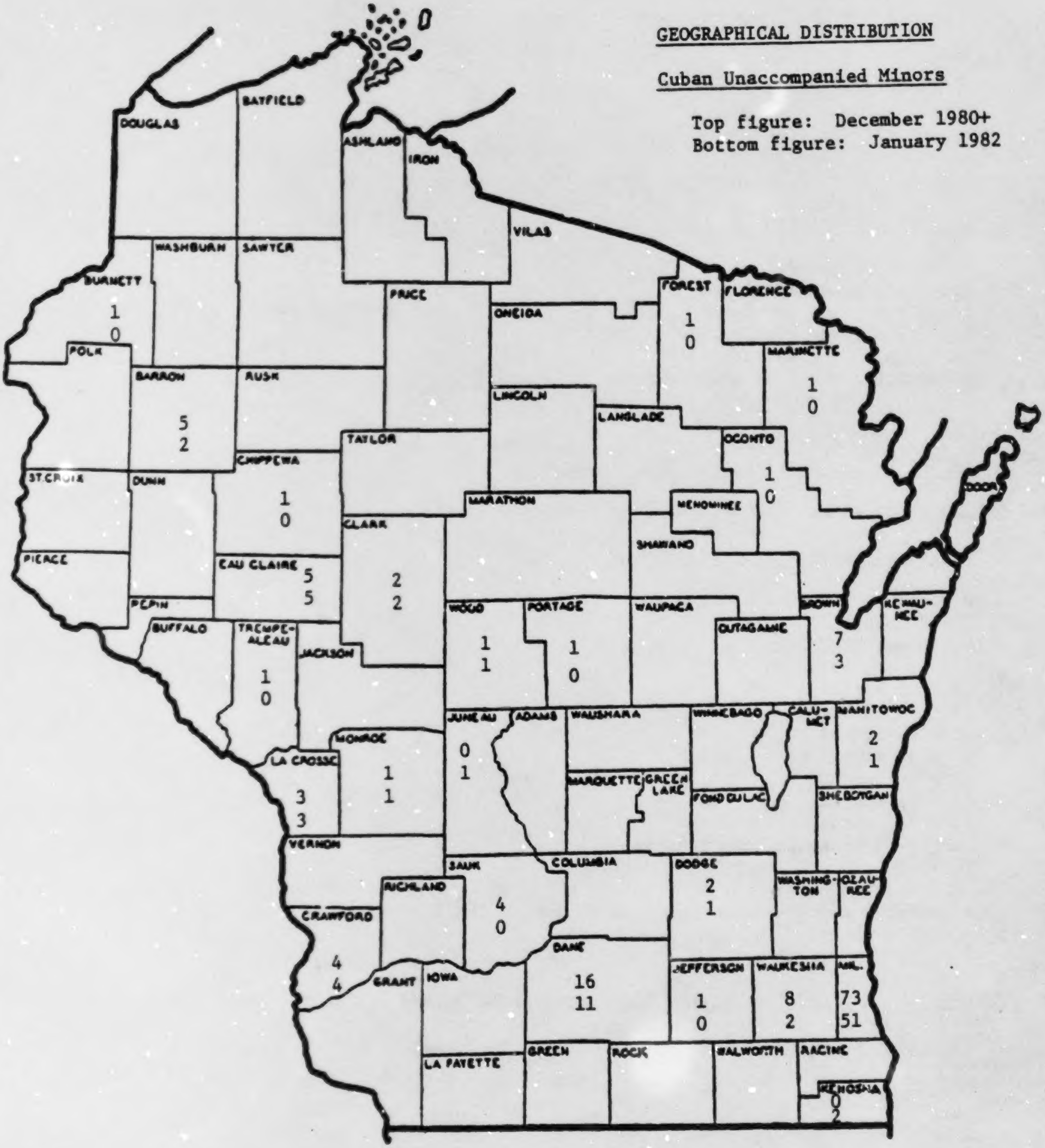
Language Assessment	Number	%
Good	0	0
Fair	2	1.4
None - Poor	139	96.5
Information not available	3	2.1
	144	100.0%

*Statistics from August 1980 Fort McCoy records and from Immigration and Naturalization Service. Percents rounded to the nearest tenth.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

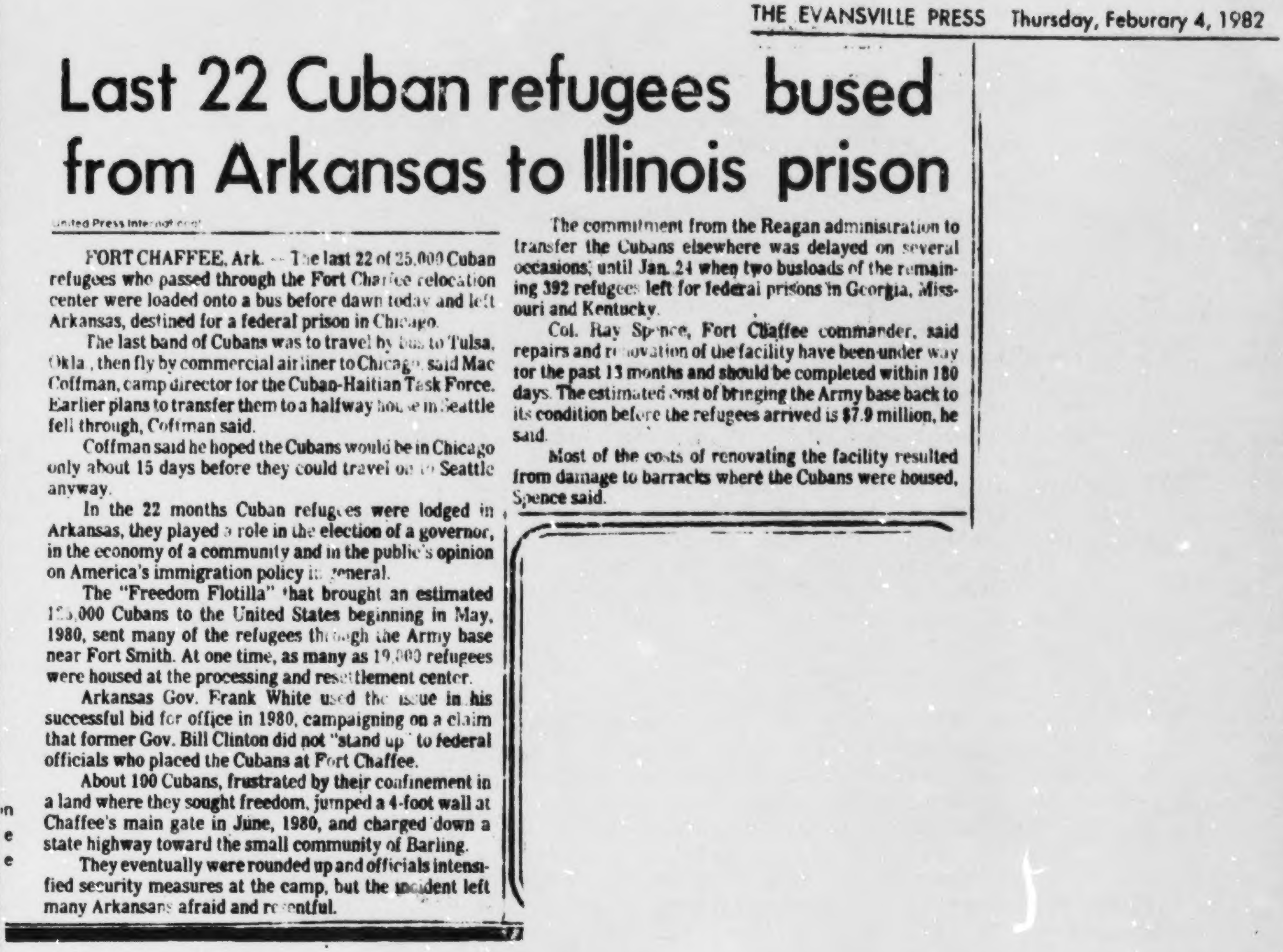
Cuban Unaccompanied Minors

Top figure: December 1980+
Bottom figure: January 1982


DOUGLAS
BAYFIELD
ASHLAND
IRON
VILAS
WASHBURN
SAWYER
BURNETT
1
0
PRICE
ONEIDA
FOREST
1
0
FLORENCE
POLK
BARRON
5
2
RUSK
LINCOLN
LANGLADE
MARINETTE
1
0
TAYLOR
OCONTO
1
0
ST.CROIX
DUNN
CHIPPEWA
1
0
MARATHON
MENOMINEE
DOOR
CLARK
2
2
SHAWANO
PIERCE
EAU CLAIRE
5
5
PEPIN
WOOD
1
1
PORTAGE
1
0
WAUPACA
BROWN
7
3
KEWAUNEE
BUFFALO
TREMPEALEAU
1
0
JACKSON
OUTAGAMIE
JUNEAU
0
1
ADAMS
WAUSHARA
WINNEBAGO
CALUMET
MANITOWOC
2
1
MONROE
1
1
LA CROSSE
3
3
MARQUETTE
GREEN LAKE
FOND DU LAC
SHEBOYGAN
VERNON
SAUK
4
0
COLUMBIA
DODGE
2
1
WASHINGTON
OZAUKEE
RICHLAND
CRAWFORD
4
4
GRANT
IOWA
DANE
16
11
JEFFERSON
1
0
WAUKESHA
8
2
MIL.
73
51
LA FAYETTE
GREEN
ROCK
WALWORTH
RACINE
KENOSHA
0
2

TOTALS

December 1980 = 141
January 1982 = 90 + 4 out of state = 94



THE EVANSVILLE PRESS Thursday, Feburary 4, 1982

Last 22 Cuban refugees bused from Arkansas to Illinois prison

United Press International

FORT CHAFFEE, Ark. -- The last 22 of 25,000 Cuban refugees who passed through the Fort Chaffee relocation center were loaded onto a bus before dawn today and left Arkansas, destined for a federal prison in Chicago.

The last band of Cubans was to travel by bus to Tulsa, Okla., then fly by commercial airliner to Chicago, said Mac Coffman, camp director for the Cuban-Haitian Task Force. Earlier plans to transfer them to a halfway house in Seattle fell through, Coffman said.

Coffman said he hoped the Cubans would be in Chicago only about 15 days before they could travel on to Seattle anyway.

In the 22 months Cuban refugees were lodged in Arkansas, they played a role in the election of a governor, in the economy of a community and in the public's opinion on America's immigration policy in general.

The "Freedom Flotilla" that brought an estimated 125,000 Cubans to the United States beginning in May, 1980, sent many of the refugees through the Army base near Fort Smith. At one time, as many as 19,000 refugees were housed at the processing and resettlement center.

Arkansas Gov. Frank White used the issue in his successful bid for office in 1980, campaigning on a claim that former Gov. Bill Clinton did not "stand up" to federal officials who placed the Cubans at Fort Chaffee.

About 100 Cubans, frustrated by their confinement in a land where they sought freedom, jumped a 4-foot wall at Chaffee's main gate in June, 1980, and charged down a state highway toward the small community of Barling.

They eventually were rounded up and officials intensified security measures at the camp, but the incident left many Arkansans afraid and resentful.

The commitment from the Reagan administration to transfer the Cubans elsewhere was delayed on several occasions, until Jan. 24 when two busloads of the remaining 392 refugees left for federal prisons in Georgia, Missouri and Kentucky.

Col. Ray Spence, Fort Chaffee commander, said repairs and renovation of the facility have been under way for the past 13 months and should be completed within 180 days. The estimated cost of bringing the Army base back to its condition before the refugees arrived is $7.9 million, he said.

Most of the costs of renovating the facility resulted from damage to barracks where the Cubans were housed, Spence said.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

17. The Outlook

The damaging effects afflicted on the refugees living under an oppressive system for over two decades has received little attention. Unfamiliar with modern conveniences, lacking insight into the functions of a free society, the refugees have needed to overcome negative behaviors nurtured under a totalitarian regime. For some, simulation and constant lying became the pattern for resisting control. The large number of men separated from their wives and children in Cuba has added to the stress of adjusting. Many of the resettled youngsters grew up in broken homes. Those who came from a home where a strong mother-figure prevailed have had less difficulty in adapting than those that did not. Moreover, the moral and educational underpinning that the Church could have provided the family in Cuba had been systematically destroyed.

Unrealistic expectations on the part of some refugees created resettlement problems as seen in their refusal to perform menial tasks such as washing dishes or scrubbing floors. They felt that they had not come to the United States to start at the bottom rung of society. Kindling this attitude could have been the over 100,000 Cubans who returned to Cuba to visit their loved ones. The former, spending over 100 million dollars on the island, represented wealth and abundance in a free society. Overlooked, however, was the hard work required to achieve success.

Retraining and time should ease the integration of the remaining Cubans. A more pressing need than cultural orientation for this group is the need to be re-socialized. They must be drawn away from institutional behaviors to socially acceptable democratic behaviors. They must learn to curb negative, impulsive reactions. For those accustomed to physical control, the laxed and sympathetic court system of the United States must mean more than just a trivial encounter.

We must keep in mind the fact that a substantial number of Mariel refugees have successfully adapted to American culture. Many have offered their skills as general repairmen, salesmen or vendors. Others have landed more lucrative jobs in public communications and industry. Still others have tried to convert themselves into small entrepreneurs by opening diverse kinds of businesses. The widespread belief in the high incidence of criminality in the refugee population does not seem to be confirmed by the available evidence. The strong desire of the refugees to display personal initiative and responsibility for their future will undoubtedly be rewarded and admired in a compassionate and free-enterprise America.

A Few Thoughts On "People To People" Interactions

1. Cubans, like most people, want to be treated as individuals. At times, a friendly conversation turns cold or detached when one speaker finds out that the other one is from Cuba. Try to remember that the deliquent behavior of a few recent arrivals should not be generalized to the well-behaved majority.

2. Their educational background and achievement may be different from Americans of the same age. The American level of performance in mathematics (e.g. algebra) may be too advanced for some of the Cuban youngsters. Try to find their level and work up from there. For some, this will be their first encounter with courses such as psychology and sociology. At first, the students will undoubtedly need additional time and individual attention from the teacher.

3. Food choices may surprise you. Peanut butter is not necessarily as well liked by Cuban youngsters as it is by Americans. For example, do not be surprised if the youngsters drink coffee and milk - a bit of strong coffee mixed with plenty of milk and one or two teaspoons of sugar.

4. Behavior modification with short intervals of performance and rewards should aid in curbing impulsive conduct. Some work with school counselors may be needed.

5. Male and female roles are still sharply delineated for many Cubans. The kitchen, in many cases, is viewed as the woman's domain. The mother serves the whole family at meal times. Obviously, these practices will need to change to accommodate present day American life styles. These role expectations may appear in students' interest or lack of interest in continued education.

6. Cuban children are expected to mature younger. At twelve, a boy is treated, in his culture, more like a man than a child. Reprimanding young people aloud, before other adults, should be avoided. It is a source of humiliation.

Appendix A

Cuban Food

Typical Dishes

Rice and Chicken (Arroz con pollo). This combination of rice and chicken, as prepared in Cuba, is so delicious that it cannot be compared with ordinary rice dishes. It often includes red pimentos and beer.

Morrish Crabs (Cangrejos moros). The Morrish Crab has enormous, black-tipped claws which, when properly boiled, are more succulent than lobster claws.

Congri. Rice with black beans--or with red navy beans, as it is cooked in Oriente Province.

Picadillo. The Cuban version of beef hash, served with rice and fried eggs is a favorite dish.

Pot Tamale. It is prepared with grated fresh corn, seasoned with a delicious tomato sauce and combined with chicken or pork.

Dessert. Guava Jelly or grated coconut preserve, served with cream cheese, are typical desserts.

Avocado Salad. Prepared with lettuce, asparagus, oil and salt to taste.

Fruits

Common fruits include pineapple (pina); coconut (coco); banana (platano)--there are numerous varieties of platanos from the tiny "date banana" to the 10-inch plantains which are cooked and sometimes eaten in place of bread; mango; mamey (with a delicious red pulp); and grapefruit (toronja). Also prevalent is Paw-Paw (Fruta Bomba) known for its digestive qualities. It is delicious eaten when well ripe, or green made into preserves. The Sour Sop (Guanabana) is highly esteemed for making cooling summer beverages, and a tasty preserve can be made of the pulp cooked in syrup.

Appendix B Cuban Speech

Cubans tend to speak faster and with more marked intonation than the more deliberate, sing-song, speech heard from some other Latin Americans. The sound /s/ whether in syllable or word final is frequently omitted or downplayed in unguarded, colloquial, talk: fo(s) foro (a match, light); lo(s) do(s) (the two). Unlike other speakers from the Caribbean, Cubans trilled the double rr sound [r] (written rr within words and r in word initial): carro, rosa. Compare the /x/ uvular fricative quality of some Puerto Ricans for the same words: cajo and josa. At times in popular Cuban speech a single tap r may replace an l within a word: borsillo instead of bolsillo (pocket).

Certain vocabulary items and phrases give Cuban speech its native flair:

Meaning	Spain	Cuba
turkey	pavo (fowl)	guanajo (fowl, fool)
peanut	cacahuate	(el) maní
grocery store	abacería	bodega (means a wine cellar elsewhere)
grocery man	especiero	bodeguero
groceries	víveres	mandados
grocery bag	bolsa	cartucho
bus	ómnibus	guagua (means a child in a few South American counties)
car	coche	carro, máquina
Sunday driver	(mal chofer)	paragüero
car horn	corneta (de coche)	fotuto
station wagon	camioneta	(el) pisicorre
man	hombre, tío	tipo
peasant	campesino	guajiro
homosexual	homosexual	pájaro
eccentric	ridículo	picúo
right now	ahora mismo	ahorita (means later in Mexico)
abuse	abuso	cañona
jump rope	cuerda	suiza
line, queue	línea	cola
peasant home	(cabaña)	bohío
sugar-making season	- - -	zafra
mans' shirt with 4 pockets, pleats	- - -	guayabera
baseball	béisbol	juego de pelota

Appendix C Popular Cuban Sayings

Me dió la mala. He tricked me.

Va a acabar con la quinta y con los mangos. He's going to destroy everything.

¡No metas la cuchareta! Mind your own business!

Me embarcó. He left me waiting.

Se robó el show. He stole the show. He was great.

Nos pegó la gorra. He invited himself to eat in our place.

Se botó pa'l solar. He's behaving like trash.

Mimí es un bombón. Mimi is very pretty.

Voy a jugar a los bomberos. I'm going to take a bath.

Mejor es pagarle el entierro que la comida. Better to pay his funeral than his meal.

¡Alabao sea Dios! God be praised!

¡Sio! Silence!

¡Piña, mamey y zapote! And that's final!

Tiene comején en la azotea. He's got termites on the roof. He's nuts.

Está de mírame y no me toques. He's in a bad mood.

Se da mucha coba. He praises himself a lot.

Es candela. He's terrible.

Le zumba el mango. He's the devil.

Es un pedazo de pan. He's very good.

Es un higado. He's a bore; a pain.

Es muy chévere. He's very nice.

El no es santo de mi devoción. I don't like him.

Te llevo de rama en rama como Tarzán lleva a Juana. (to a woman)
I like you a lot (familiar usage)

Está hecho leña. He's flat broke.

Se formó un rollo. What a jam (problem).

Se acabó lo que se daba. That's all.[10]

FOOTNOTES

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10. A. Carbajo, *El millon catorce de dicharachos cubanos* (Miami Springs: Language Research Press, 1968).

I would like to express my gratitude to Elena and Jim Mueller as well as to their adopted young Cuban, Diosdado, for their helpful comments. A word of appreciation is also due to Prudencio Oyarbide.

Oscar Ozete
1982

B. SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Immigrants' Children Feel Pride in Cultural Origin

By Dena Kleinman
New York Times
October 31, 1982 - page 41

Graciela Viera, who migrated to this country from Cuba at the age of 7, says she will always remember her first day at school for what it told her about what life would be like here.

"Now that you're in America," she recalled her teacher telling her, "we're changing your name to Grace."

That was 22 years ago and Miss Viera has held onto the Americanization of her name. But these days Miss Viera is a teacher herself, and she says she would never ask a foreign-born student to change his name or in any other way forgo his cultural identity. If anything, Miss Viera, a teacher at Public School 89 in Elmhurst, Queens, says she attempts--as many others today do in public schools around the city--to reinforce that heritage.

There has been a change in philosophy over the past decade in the city's public schools--long the homogenizers of the young, where learning the Pledge of Allegiance, reciting the preamble to the Constitution and cutting turkeys out of cardboard for Thanksgiving have been a way to inculcate American values to generations.

Change in Teachers' Attitude

Many of these activities, of course, still continue, but in part as a result of the rebellion of the 60's and 70's that challenged the country's traditional values and stereotypes and pressed for equal rights for minorities and women, there has been a shift to thinking about how aggressive teachers should be in pressuring youngsters--particularly newcomers to this country--to conform to the American experience.

"We're not a melting pot anymore," said Cleonice LoSecco, the principal of P.S. 89, which is in the city's most ethnically diverse neighborhood, and, with 1,600 youngsters from at least 50 different countries, is among the city's most ethnically diverse schools. "Now we're a salad bowl. Every ingredient's distinct."

In addition to the turbulence of the last two decades, educators say, the change by the schools to accepting cultural diversity also results, in part, from the ease with which immigrants can return to their native countries, either for vacation or to live.

In this way, many immigrants--unlike the bulk of their predecessors--maintain close ties to their native countries and often remain involved not only with family but also with the politics of their homelands. Another reason cited is that classrooms today are frequently conducted by teachers who themselves immigrated and are perhaps more sensitive to the issue than those who were born here.

Impact on Children Is Unclear

Still, it is unclear what impact this change in the schools may have on the youngsters themselves. Will they adhere to a different system of values and standards from their classmates whose parents are Americans? Immigrant parents are often torn by this issue as well, confused about how to strike a balance between a desire to maintain a link to their homeland and to be accepted here.

And debate continues within the schools about the validity of the change and what it has meant to the assimilation process: Should American society--and therefore its schools--place a premium on diversity or sameness?

"Before, it was a stigma to come from another country or not speak English," said Miss Viera, who teaches a bilingual class for Hispanic youngsters. "Our minds have been opened. Now it's O.K. to maintain the food, langauge, music. If you know more than one language, it is a sign of being more educated."

Ann Pryor, who also teaches at P.S. 89 and is a third-generation American, would disagree. "I think we're postponing the inevitable," Miss Pryor said. "Are they going to become part of this society or not?"

A Change in Tone at Schools

Of course, the schools still teach a basic curriculum of mathematics, English, social studies and science. The difference today is that many students for whom English is a new language are placed in separate classrooms to learn these subjects in their own tongue--part of the controversial program known as bilingual education. But beyond that, there has been a shift in tone.

At P.S. 89, evidence of the new emphasis on cultural diversity is visible almost everywhere--from the celebrations of Simon Bolivar Day and the Chinese New Year to the spinach knishes and Jamaican patties served in the cafeteria to the school's bulletin boards and display cases featuring recollections by youngsters of their homelands.

No longer are students taught that there is only one way to eat or dress or speak, or that in order to be accepted one must forfeit his cultural past. Instead, teachers at the school have been directed by Mrs. LoSecco--as they have by principals at schools throughout the city--to emphasize respect for variation and cultural differences.

Aida Infante, who teaches the fifth grade, for example, was conducting a lesson the other day on the geography of the United States.

"How many pieces of the United States does America have?" asked Miss Infante, who immigrated to this country from Italy.

Symbols on American Flag

"Fifty," a boy in the front row shouted. Miss Infante walked over to the window and grabbed the classroom's American flag.

"How is this represented on the American flag?" she asked.

"Stars," said Aman Bhasino, 10 years old, who moved to this country six months ago from India.

"The stars are symbols," said Miss Infante. "Class: Say the word 'symbols.'"

"Symbols," shouted the class, which is composed of 27 youngsters from 11 countries.

"If we go south, what country would we find?"

"Mayheeco," said Mario Sandoval, who moved to this country three years ago from Columbia.

"Mayheeco," Miss Infante repeated in the same accent. "You see, class, he says it right. We say Mexico in this country. But in Mexico they would say Mayheeco."

Possible Confusion for Children

While the rationale for this deference to other cultures has long been to emphasize every individual's worth, even its advocates agree that despite its advantages, it nevertheless can be confusing to youngsters--particularly in light of the conflicting signals they often receive at home.

"They're neither fish nor fowl," said Mrs. LoSecco, who is an immigrant to this country from Italy and a strong advocate of teaching respect for other cultures. "There can be divisions within a family. Identity is so difficult to establish. Many are running a tight-rope."

Just the other day, for example, Joseph Piro was teaching his fifth-grade class of 37 youngsters a section on current events. The conversation turned to citizenship.

"How many of you consider yourself American?" Mr. Piro asked his class, most of whom were born in other countries. Only about 10 youngsters raised their hands. When Mr. Piro asked how many would ever want to return to their native country, almost none did.

"My mother always tells me I'm a Chinese girl," said Wendy Chan, 10. "And I tell her, no I'm an American."

"I'd say I was Korean because I was born there," said Michael Kwak, who moved to this country five years ago. "But I think it's better over here. There's sports, video games, movies."

It is, however, just these things about life in this country that sometimes torment parents about their own priorities. Some parents, of course, have not begun to think about the question of their youngsters' identities and are more preoccupied with financial survival and their children's academic progress in school than their national allegiance. Still, many seek to maintain the traditional mores of their homeland and are anxious that their children not lose sight of their origins.

"I'd like him to feel both Hispanic and American," said Gloria Barrancos, whose son Alvaro, 10, attends P.S. 89, and who came to this country five years ago from Bolivia. "I want him to know where his grandparents came from and to always be able to speak Spanish, too."

Wang Yuet Lin, who moved to this country from Hong Kong three years ago and whose 6-year-old son, Yeun Hang, attends the first grade at P.S. 89, says, however, that she has never thought about the question of allegiance.

"He doesn't know what's Chinese or American," said Mrs. Lin. "He just knows that he's in America and America is good."

Shortly after she enrolled her son in school, Mrs. Lin decided to give him the American name of "Benny." She said she did it in the hope that he would feel that he belonged here.

2. What Changes, What Remains the Same, and What Affects Acculturative Change in Cuban Immigrant Families

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This work was supported by the National Institute on Drug Abuse
Grant 5 H 81DA 01696-02

Presented at the Conferencia: Los Cubanos en los Estados Unidos,
Miami, January, 1977.

The simple passage of time is a basic variable in the study of developmental processes. This paper explores some of the variables that seem to change as a function of time spent in the United States. But, more importantly this paper will attempt to identify significant individual and intrafamilial processes that have occurred, perhaps as a function of the Cuban people's interaction with the United States as a host culture.

This paper, however, will focus on discussing the processes that affect Cuban families with adolescent children since the data to be presented includes primarily two studies, one of adolescents and the second of mothers of adolescents. Additional data from other studies will also be cited in order to provide additional cross validational evidence for the findings and their interpretations, and in order to provide a fuller picture of the processes that change with time.

At the individual level, the most obvious variable of study with respect to time in the U.S. is acculturation. The Cuban people has demonstrated a vertiginous rate of acculturation since their arrival to the United States. A study by Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines and Aranalde (1976) demonstrated that the acculturation process can be operationalized and successfully measured. In their study, acculturation was found to occur along two distinct and factorially independent dimensions: a dimension of self reported behaviors and a dimension of relational value orientations.

The self reported behavioral acculturation scale developed by these authors includes 24 items. The first eight items refer to language preference and usage in a variety of social and mass media contexts. The next four items refer to the nature of interactions the person has with the culture of origin or the host culture. The subsequent three items refer to customs involved in birthdays, courtship and gestures in talking. Finally, the last nine items assess the extent to which a preferred idealized life style would be Cuban or American. The instructions for administration ask the subject to report, in a five point Likert scale, the relative frequency with which he or she engages in each behavior, ranging from the most Cuban to the most American.

The relational value orientations scale is comprised of six problem situations conceptualized in terms of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) relational value dimension. Three alternative responses are possible for each problem situation, paralleling Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's variations in relational value orientation. Two of these variations are individuality and lineality. The value acculturation scale is scored ranging from lineality at the unacculturated end to individuality at the acculturated end. The instructions for administration ask the subjects to indicate which alternative they think is the best and which the worst, in each problem situation.

The two acculturation scales were developed following rigorous psychometric procedures. The report of these procedures and the reliability studies for the scales are reported in the original research report by Szapocznik, et al. (1976).

In the basic validational study for the two acculturation scales, acculturation scale scores were found to covary significantly with years in the U.S. in a sample of 69 high school students. The correlation between years in U.S. and behavioral acculturation scores was .61 ($p < .00001$) and the correlation between years in U.S. and scores on the value acculturation scale was .35 ($p < .002$). Scores for both scales were also correlated separately for males and females. The correlation between the criterion variable and behavioral acculturation scale scores for males (N=22) was .49 ($p < .0001$) and for female (N=47) was .59 ($p < .00001$). The correlation between years in U.S. and value acculturation scale scores for males was .31 ($p < .005$) and for females was .38 ($p < .005$).

There are four important points to note about the results of these analyses. First, for this group of Cuban youth, behavioral acculturation appears to be a linear function of the amount of time an individual has been exposed to the host culture. Second, behavioral acculturation appears to be linearly related to exposure to the host culture for both males and females. Third, reported language preference and usage, custom, habits and idealized lifestyle seem to change along the acculturative dimension more or less simultaneously. The results further suggest that the process of value acculturation does not occur as homogeneously as the process of behavioral acculturation.

Additional studies also reported by Szapocznik et al. (1976), revealed that the rate of behavioral acculturation is a function of the person's age, with young people acculturating more rapidly than older individuals. A sample of 334 first and second generaton Cuban immigrants ranging in age from 14 to 85 years was classified according to psychosocial stages (Newman & Newman, 1975). This classification yielded five stages with the following age ranges: Early adolescence (13-17), later adolescence (18-22), early adulthood (23-30), middle adulthood (31-50), and later adulthood (51+).

The results indicated that psychosocial stage differences in measured behavioral acculturation are highly significant (F (4,319) = 47.01, $p < .0001$) the highest mean score was obtained by the early adolescents followed, in descending order, by each of the psychosocial stages. Second, the results also revealed that the process of value acculturation is more complex than that of behavioral acculturation, vis-a-vis psychosocial stage. Apparently, value acculturation scale scores were more related to psychosocial stage than age, per se. Within the Cuban immigrant sample, the highest endorsement of individuality was obtained by individuals at the stage of early adulthood. While the meaning of this finding is not clear, the results seem to support, overall, the implications of developmental psychosocial theory. According to psychosocial theory, the major developmental tasks of this period include establishing a marriage, starting a family, developing a career, and establishing a life style--all of which suggest that individuals at this stage should exhibit an individualistic orientation (Newman & Newman, 1975).

From the findings of a third study, also reported by Szapocznik, et al. (1976), it emerged that the rate of behavioral acculturation differs for males and females with the former acculturating more rapidly than the latter. The same sample of 334 first and second generation Cuban immigrant subjects was broken down into a male (N=127) and a female (N=198) group. Holding age and years in U.S. constant, the difference between males and females in mean scores for the behavioral scale was significant, $F(2,320) = 3.71$, $p < .05$. The findings indicated that males acculturate along the behavioral dimension more rapidly than females, and further that the difference was independent of age and length of exposure to the host culture. The difference in scores for value acculturation, however, failed to reach significance, $F(2,320) = 2.46$, $p < .11$, suggesting that males and females did not differ significantly in their rates of acculturation along a relational value dimension.

Implications of the Acculturation Findings at the Family Level

The findings reported were organized into a model for acculturation (Szapocznik, et al., 1976), which predicted that intergenerational differences in behavioral acculturation develop in Cuban immigrant families with adolescent children because the adolescents acculturate more rapidly than older family members. The effects of the process of acculturation on Cuban immigrant families is depicted in Figure 1. This process, illustrated by Figure 1, explains the clinically observed phenomenon that intergenerational differences in acculturation emerge in most Cuban immigrant families.

Clinical observations at Encuentro have also suggested that widespread family dysfunction in Cuban immigrant families may result from an exaggerated acculturational gap that seems to develop in some families. Apparently, in some families, the acculturation process is precipitated in the children and retarded in the parents. In these families, the emergent behavioral acculturation gap becomes the focus of family intergenerational conflicts. Clinical experience further suggests that in these cases, the acculturational differences are triangulated with the parental and sibling subsystems in the families. Such triangulation serves to prevent effective negotiation and conflict resolution between parents and children. Instead, the family becomes more and more polarized continuously focusing on the acculturational differences and setting the stage for the development of increasingly exaggerated acculturational intergenerational intrafamily differences.

While data addressing this issue directly is lacking, the results of a study with 110 Cuban mothers tend to support these speculations.

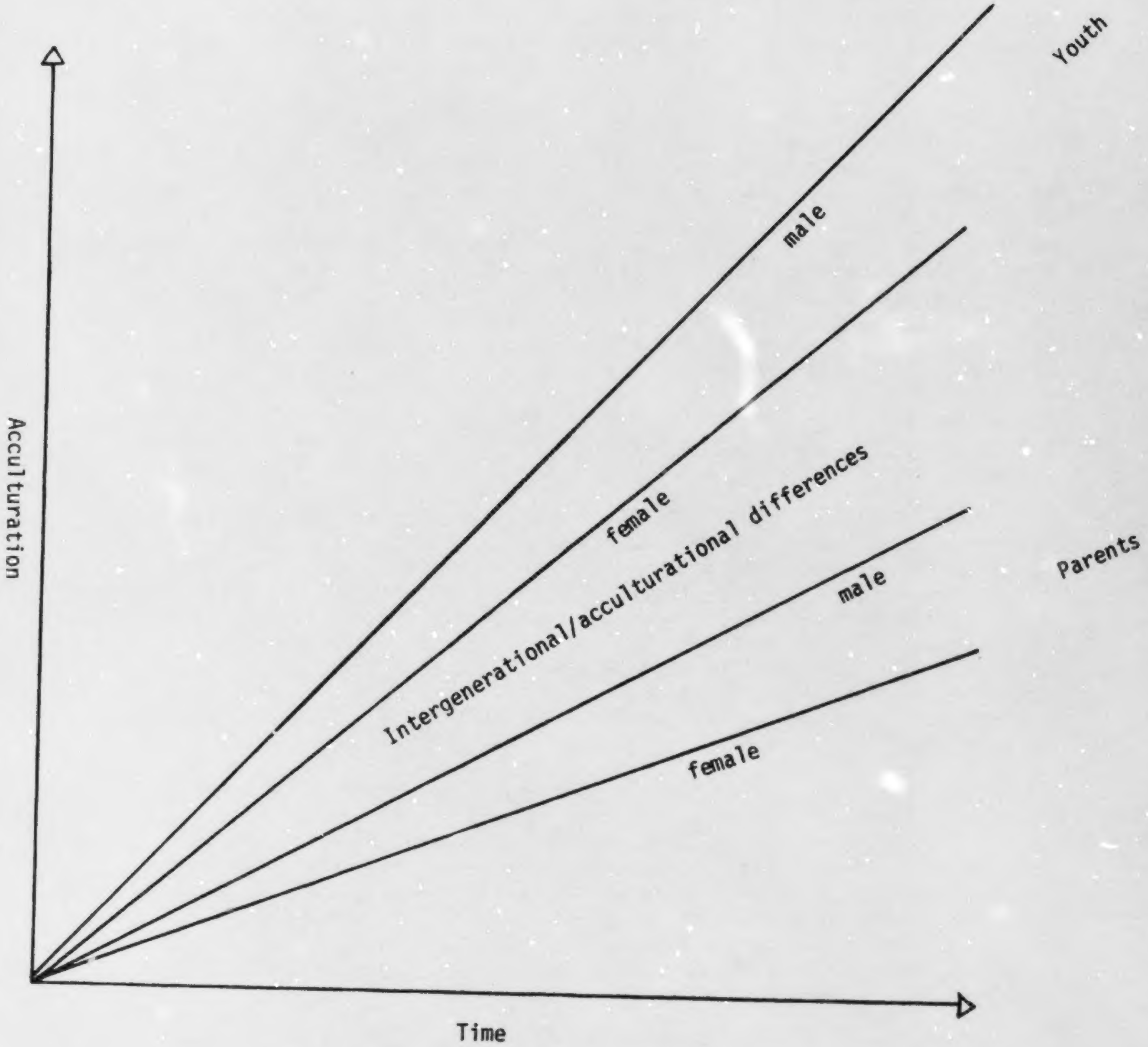
Youth
male
female
Intergenerational/acculturational differences
male
Parents
female
Acculturation
Time

Figure 1. The development of intergenerational/acculturational differences as a function of time.

Cuban Mothers of Adolescent Children

In a study of 110 Cuban mothers (Szapocznik, 1976), the relationship of years in U.S. to demographic, personality and behavioral variables were studied. This sample included Cuban women who had at least one child between the ages of 13 and 24, and who had arrived in the United States since 1959. These women were chosen so that populations at risk for family conflict were emphasized, and thus the sample is not expected to be representative of the population of Cuban mothers with adolescent children, at large.

These mothers were administered the eight language preference and usage items of the acculturation scale, described above. A total acculturation score was obtained for each mother by adding the scores obtained in each of the language item. An item analysis revealed that for this sample each of the item scores was highly significantly related ($p < .001$) to total scores, justifying adding the items to obtain a total score. As expected, these mothers' acculturation scores were significantly related to the number of years they had spent in the U.S. ($r = .26$, $p < .01$) and inversely related to age ($r = .32$, $p < .001$). As will be discussed below, the relationship between acculturation and years in U.S. was spuriously low because of abnormal pathological patterns in parts of this sample.

These 110 mothers were also administered the 16PF (Cattell, Eber, & Tatsicoka, 1970), Form B, in Spanish. Table 1 presents the correlations between 16PF scale scores, and years in U.S., acculturation scores, and age.

Surprisingly, only one 16PF scale demonstarted significant changes as a function of time spent in the U.S.: Scale I. This significant relationship would seem to suggest that as mothers' spend more time in America, they tend to become less "self-reliant" and more "help-seeking." On the other hand, whereas only one scale changes significantly in relationship to years in U.S., 14 out of the 23 16PF scales analyzed correlated significantly with changes in the level of acculturation. Although time, per se, does not seem to affect personality configuration, acculturation seems to be an important variable significantly related to personality configuration, at least in this sample of Cuban mothers.

In a closer perusal of Table 1, acculturation emerges as a process related to 16PF characteristics such as outgoing, intelligent, dominant, happy-go-lucky, venturesome, help-seeking, self-assured, extroverted, intellectually controlled, independent, compulsive, discrete, high ego strength, and low levels of anxiety. While it is not possible to ascertain the direction of causality between these variables, it would appear that mothers who acculturate are, in general, psychologically better adjusted, and viceversa those mothers who are most psychologically well adjusted tend to acculturate best.

Consistent with these assertions, it was also found that when the mothers who perceived role conflicts around their role as mothers were separated into (1) mothers who did not perceive strong opposition from their children toward the parents' traditionally Cuban child rearing customs, and (2) mothers who perceived strong opposition (serious intergenerational family conflicts) from their children for taking a traditionally Cuban stand

TABLE 1

Correlations between 16PF scale scores and (1) years in U.S.; (2) acculturation; and (3) age.

	16PF Scales	Years in US	Acculturation	Age
(A)	Reserved/Outgoing	.02	.32***	-.19**
(B)	Less/More intelligent	.11	.23**	.13
(C)	Low/High Ego strength	-.02	.30***	.05
(E)	Submissive/Dominant	-.02	.34***	-.09
(F)	Serious/Happy-go-lucky	-.01	.40***	-.16*
(G)	Expedient/Conscientious	-.04	.02	-.14
(H)	Timid/Venturesome	.14	.45***	-.16*
(I)	Self-reliant/Help-seeking	.20*	.20*	-.06
(L)	Trusting/suspicious	.04	-.14	-.04
(M)	Practical/Imaginative	.08	-.06	.03
(N)	Naivette/Shrewdness	-.09	-.04	.02
(O)	Self-assured/apprehensive	.09	-.19*	.12
(Q1)	Conservative/Experimenting	-.11	.10	-.11
(Q2)	Group dependent/Self-sufficient	-.15	-.13	.05
(Q3)	Lack of control/Ability to bind anxiety	.05	.08	.16*
(Q4)	Relaxed/Tense	.09	-.07	-.13
(I)	Introversion/Extraversion	.09	.49***	-.24***
(II)	Low/High anxiety	.07	-.23**	-.02
(III)	Emotionally/Intellectually controlled	-.01	.24**	-.09
(IV)	Subdued, dependent/Independent	-.01	.22**	-.08
(V)	Compulsivity/Sociopathy	.13	-.27**	.03
(VI)	Lack of restraint/Discreteness	-.03	.36***	-.08
(VII)	Objectivity/Subjectivity	.11	.09	.13

on child rearing issues, the latter mothers with the most serious conflicts were significantly less acculturated ($t = 2.38$, $p < .02$), although they had been in U.S. a nonsignificantly ($t = -1.71$, $p < .09$) longer period of time.

It would appear then, that acculturation, at least as measured by language usage and preference is a functional process for Cuban mothers; achieved by mothers who are psychologically well adjusted; and, in turn the achievement of this process by mothers seems to generate in them psychological health and greater family harmony. Further, the mothers exhibiting less acculturation tend to also exhibit a more neurotic personality constellation. Conversely, consistent with the nature of neurotic behaviors, mothers presenting this kind of personality profile are less likely to learn new acculturated behaviors. Finally, and as speculated earlier, mothers of families in which the intergenerational conflict is more intense (most like clinical families) demonstrated a retarded acculturation process in contrast to mothers not reporting these intense family conflicts. These findings support the notion that exaggerated acculturational differences across generations co-occur with disrupted and conflicted family settings.

Further Implications

It was suggested by Scopetta, King, and Szapocznik (1975) that the emergence of exaggerated intergenerational acculturational gaps within Cuban families led to family dysfunctions. As suggested by Szapocznik et al.'s (1976) acculturation study, even within the normal process of acculturation, adolescent males are expected to acculturate most rapidly, and their mothers are likely to be the nuclear family member acculturating most slowly. Thus, it would appear that the greatest disparities in acculturation within the family would occur among adolescent males and their mothers, and that it is in these two populations, adolescent males and mothers of adolescent males, that the effects of acculturation related dysfunctions should be more evident.

Consistent with these speculations, the mothers reporting the most serious family intergenerational conflict were found to be least acculturated. The data presented herein also reveals that in these mothers the lack of acculturation is related to a maladjustive neurotic personality profile as measured by the 16PF.

Moreover, it is also suggested that there is another side to the family intergenerational conflict schema presented. It was indicated that retarded acculturation in Cuban mothers is related to a neurotic syndrome and that regardless of which is the cause and which the effect, this acculturation-related process in Cuban mothers appears to be dysfunctional and to occur in highly intergenerationally conflicted families. The other side of the family conflict story is speculated to be that adolescent males who belong to these same intergenerationally conflicted families should present an accelerated acculturational process. It is further speculated that the accelerated acculturational process in maladjusted male adolescents may also be accompanied by a pathological personality configuration, or more appropriately with adolescents, a dysfunctional psychosocial profile.

It could be hypothesized that just like inhibited acculturation processes are related to neurotic syndromes in Cuban mothers, accelerated acculturation processes in young Cuban adolescents are related to uninhibited, active, perhaps acting out syndrome.

Data presented by Ladner (1976) would seem to provide some support to these speculations. Ladner indicated that there are two distinguishable populations in outpatient treatment at Encuentro: middle-aged women presenting neurotic symptomatology and young males presenting acting out profiles.

3. The Cuban Exile In The United States: Adjustment and Maladjustment

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Invited Address: Simposio "La Comunidad Hispana en Los Estados Unidos"
Escuela Nacional de Estudios Profesionales, Acatlan
Universidad Nacional Autonomo de Mexico, Mexico City, May 1979

Sponsored Jointly by
The United States Embassy in Mexico
and
Escuela Nacional de Estudios Profesionales, Acatlan

Estimates of the number of Cubans in the United States tend to indicate that over 750,000 Cubans have settled in this country. Most of these individuals, over one-half million, live in the Greater Miami/Dade County area of South Florida. Whereas, in the migration waves of the early 1960's, many middle and upper class Cubans left their country to seek political asylum in the United States, according to the Cuban demographer, Dr. John Clark, by 1978 the demographic distribution of Cuban exiles was representative of the Cuban population of the island in the late 1950's.

The Cuban's exile in the United States has been a mixed blessing for our people. While it provided for the opportunities that many Cubans sought for an alternate political reality away from their homelands, it has had its complications.

In general, large sectors of the Cuban population have been highly successful in their adaptation to American life. Particularly, the Cubans have had remarkable economic successes. Their impact on the Miami area has been quite noticeable since they contributed significantly to the revitalization of the sagging Miami economy which had previously depended almost solely on tourism.

Miami is becoming an increasingly successful metropolis and gateway to Hispanic America. In fact, currently one out of every five persons traveling to international destinations from the United States pass through Miami. Greater Miami/Dade County is the first officially bilingual area in the United States, truly a political and linguistic/cultural success for our Hispanic population.

Nevertheless, our people have paid a price for migration and for success. Adaptation to America has required the development of new styles of living that are faster, more impersonal and individualistic. The rapid rate of change has caused dislocations for those who have not been able to adapt or for those who have adapted too fast. Some of the most affected by migration because of their lesser ability to adapt, such as the elderly, have suffered the most. Others, particularly the young, may have rushed into assimilation, cutting off their roots and cultural heritage and as a result have suffered high rates of psychosocial disruption and psychological adjustment problems.

In some ways many have adapted remarkably well. Cuban families in the United States have in the process of acculturation become more nuclear (as compared to extended) which lessens the financial burden on the breadwinner. While elders have suffered considerably with the disappearance of the extended family, some elders have adjusted remarkably well to peer group support systems. Their adjustment to these new forms of support systems is, indeed, remarkable given elders advanced age and reduced resiliency. Others who have been less fortunate have required mental health or other supportive services to assist them in their transition and adjustment to the kinds of peer and social service support systems that are more prevalent in the United States.

Perhaps the most remarkable success of the Cuban community is that it is developing a new model for adjustment to migration--The Bicultural Community. Greater Miami/Dade County now is officially bilingual. The area has well-developed Hispanic sectors as well as integrated Hispanic American activities, and there is sufficient community and political support for the Cuban minority group so that we can now feel more secure about the likelihood of maintaining our cultural heritage. Whereas, most migrant communities of the past have limited themselves to developing ethnic ghettos, the Cubans have developed a rich and creative response to the migration process which includes the traditional ethnic enclave, but makes also available a bicultural community. The latter permits Cuban Americans to maintain the best their cultural heritage can offer, while simultaneously engaging in adjustive relations with their host culture.

The last twenty years have been a challenge for our Cuban exile community. There have been many obstacles and problems. But, I think that Cuban exiles can be proud of the advances achieved.

As I have already pointed out, however, successes and problems have gone hand in hand. As families become more nuclear, an economic benefit for the nuclear family members, the benefit of extended family support systems are lost to the least independent family members, the children and the elderly. As Cubans succeed, interethnic tensions have emerged and the existing power structure becomes threatened. As Miami develops a new and more adjustive model of migration--the Bicultural Community--sectors of the mainstream, Anglo groups become alienated; sectors of the underpriveleged black groups are rendered less able to compete; and, many Cubans who fail to adapt to their bicultural social environment are becoming psychiatric casualties.

The Spanish Family Guidance Center is a research and development center, which has been funded almost in its entirety by the federal government since its early origins in 1972. During the Center's history, programs have been developed to establish drug, alcohol abuse, and mental health services in the Miami community; services which are specifically tailored to our Hispanic population. The Center has been built around the premise that services to Hispanics should take into consideration their special characteristics and address their unique needs.

Mental health services developed in the United States have in the past been established by and conducted for mainstream populations. Consequently, the models of service delivery that were developed were most acceptable to the mainstream populations. By that I mean, white, young adult, middle-class, verbal, intelligent individuals. The very same people that had the most psychological, social and political options. Unfortunately, however, contrary to the beliefs of several decades ago, one form of mental health services is not equally adequate for all. Thus, the services that had in the past been developed for these groups were not adequate for many other populations, such as the Black, the Hispanic and the elderly.

With this recognition, the United States government is sponsoring a major national effort to develop new or alternative forms of treatment that are specific to each population group in terms of each group's characteristics and problems. As part of this effort, our Center has received research support to investigate the characteristics of the Cuban population, their most urgent mental health needs; and, on the basis of this research information, develop and investigate models of services that are particularly effective with our Cuban population.

I would like to take this opportunity to review, albeit briefly, one such set of studies in which we investigated the Cuban's value structure, identified a major source of psychosocial disruption related to their acculturation process and proceeded to identify and investigate a method of service delivery that was built on their value structure while treating acculturation related dysfunctions.

In terms of wide-spread mental health problems among Cuban exiles, I would like to discuss the problems related to acculturation which our community has been confronting. Clinical observations of our population revealed that the population was exhibiting problems of adjustment related to acculturation. In particular, many Cuban families with adolescent children were suffering severe conflict and disruption. What we found was that, because youngsters acculturated faster than their parents, differences in acculturation were developing across generations. Partially some of the problems were of acculturation in behavior and the nature of the conflicts address "content" differences. However, some of the most difficult acculturation problems to be resolved by the family were the acculturational differences in relational style, where parents remained lineal and youngsters began to assert their individualism.

For many families these acculturational differences became pathogenic and deep familial pathologies developed. In some of these families we found, that as the problem progressed, family members became more and more polarized, so that the parents adopted a more extreme Hispanic-like style and youngsters became more Americanized. Hence, acculturational differences was a problem that escalated in the family, with the level of conflict escalating as the family members became more polarized. From a family therapy perspective, a model of treatment known as Structural Family Therapy was found to be quite effective in addressing these problems. It is noteworthy that Structural Family Therapy is a therapy built on therapeutic assumptions that complement the Cuban's value structure, as will be discussed later.

Another set of studies at the Center investigated the Cuban's value structure and the implications of such value structure for mental health services. These studies revealed that Cuban immigrants tend to value lineality in relational styles, whereas, Anglo Americans tend to value individualism; Cuban immigrants tend to be more present-oriented, whereas Anglo Americans are more future-oriented; and many Cuban immigrants lack an orientation to attempt to exercise control over detrimental natural forces and environmental conditions, whereas, mainstream Anglo Americans are more likely to perceive themselves as having mastery over their environment.

It was postulated by our staff that if in fact, these value orientation differences between the two groups are basic, then they should have important implications for the kinds of mental health services that should be provided to each of these two populations. Within this framework, cultural sensitivity in mental health services was defined as a treatment model built on a set of therapeutic assumptions that complement the patient population's basic value structure.

In order to achieve desired psychotherapeutic outcomes with psychosocially dysfunctional Cubans, it is necessary to identify treatment models which are based on therapeutic assumptions complementary to the Cuban's value structure. Therefore, the Cuban's preference for lineality, their orientation not to attempt to modify the effects of environmental conditions, and their present time orientation must be considered when designing a mental health delivery system for them. Therefore, the provider of mental health services to Cuban immigrants must be ready to take charge of the client therapist relationship, to validate hierarchical structures in the client's life context, and to intervene on behalf of the client within the client's life context to restore ecological order.

Foremost, a culturally sensitive treatment model validates the Cuban immigrant's preference for a lineal relationship style. This interpersonal relationship style may receive the support of the therapist by relating to the client hierarchically, recognizing that the therapist role is perceived by the client as a position of authority. With this recognition the therapist takes responsibility and charge of the newly formed therapeutic relationship.

A culturally sensitive treatment model must consider the Cuban immigrant's sensitivity to environmental social pressures. Because of the strong influence of environmental psychosocial pressures experienced by Cubans, it is important to conceptualize the etiology of psychosocial dysfunction within a socio-ecological framework. Since many Cuban clients tend to perceive themselves as unable to control natural forces or modify detrimental environmental conditions, when environmental pressures or tensions seem to be a source of dysfunction, it is necessary that therapeutic interventions include direct intervention by the therapist on environmental sources of client functional impairment.

Finally, the treatment of the Cuban client must be present-time oriented. The Cuban client is usually mobilized for treatment by the onset of a crisis and expects the therapist to provide immediate problem oriented solutions to the crisis situation.

It is noteworthy that many therapies which may assume that mental health patients can take responsibility of their own lives, that they are motivated to change for the sake of future gains and psychological growth, and in which the therapist takes a "back-seat" role may not be acceptable to Cubans. Rather, a therapy that is more consistent with Cuban's basic value orientation has a therapist who is an active leader, who is concerned and willing to intervene directly in daily social-environmental problems confronted by their patients, and who focuses the patient on concrete, obtainable goals based on overcoming present needs. In our own work we found that a model of treatment known as Structural Family Therapy achieved all of these aims.

What we have developed is a technology or methodology for matching treatment to client population characteristics. If there is one idea that I would like to leave with you today, it is that much too often Hispanic countries have adopted treatment methodologies that were developed in the United States and which were found to work effectively for certain American populations. But, in many instances, to impose these approaches to our Hispanic populations may violate our groups' basic value structure. I would like to encourage this professional assembly to be alert to the problems of matching patient characteristics and treatment. In order to determine what treatments work best with your population, you must first understand their problems, then decide how the population works and lastly, design or identify an existing treatment that is culture-syntonic to the population while having the flexibility to be adapted to address your population's mental health problems.

More recent investigations at the Spanish Family Guidance Center have led to reconceptualizations of the acculturation problem, discussed earlier in terms of a model of bicultural involvement. It has become evident that as Cubans acculturate, pathologies develop in those individuals who are least bicultural, whereas those who are more bicultural seem to adjust best. Based on a considerable body of research, I have come to the conclusion that since most Cubans in Miami are exposed to a bicultural social and familial environment, bicultural involvement for this population is generally quite adjustive. Certainly, the research findings are clear in indicating most maladjustment among Cuban exiles is found in those who either remain totally Hispanic and fail to develop skills for dealing with the American sector, and those who become too Americanized and reject or lose their skills to deal with the Hispanic culture.

Under current circumstances--a bicultural Hispanic American community in Greater Miami--exaggerated acculturation or exaggerated maintenance of ethnic identity, one to the exclusion of the other, is detrimental to the mental health of our immigrant group.

Since the process of becoming bicultural involves at least minimally, learning communication and negotiation skills in two different cultural contexts, it may be possible to develop a prevention strategy for enhancing the mental health of Cuban Americans by training families in bicultural effectiveness. This is a new concept which is currently under exploration at our Center.

The Cuban exile population has been remarkably successful, particularly in achieving economic success. Nevertheless, problems have developed particularly of an acculturational variety which go beyond the typical central health problems that affect most individuals. With federal assistance, we have developed methods of assisting our population which are sensitive to our population's characteristics and respects our own uniqueness.

I think that the most important aspect of the work that I have just reviewed is that as researchers we are maintaining ourselves close to our community, following the pulse of an evolving, dynamic group. As the community changes, the nature of mental health needs changes, as does the best ways of addressing these needs. Many of these changes in needs, and ways of addressing them, are closely related to the sociological, philosophical and political currents of the time.

As researchers, it is our responsibility to continue to research our groups and understand their everchanging characteristics and problems. As innovators in mental health, it is our role to continuously develop methods of serving our people, which are at each moment in time relevant to that moment. In rapidly changing modern societies, our work will, of necessity, include: (1) developing methodologies to study change, (2) studying the everchanging realities of our groups, and (3) utilizing the research findings to develop adequate procedures for mental health intervention.

C. RESOURCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS REGARDING CUBAN STUDENTS

-- Constance K. Knop

1. Bilingual/Bicultural Education Series, A Selected, Annotated Bibliography on Bilingual Bicultural Education, available for free from the National Indochinese Clearinghouse, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 N. Kent Street, Arlington, Virginia, 22209. This selective bibliography contains five sections: Information Sources, Anthologies, Bilingualism, General Aspects of Bilingual Education, and Specific Bilingual Programs and Curriculum. Items from this list of particular interest to teachers of Cuban students include the following:

   a. Materials Development and Bibliographies

      1) Bilingual Materials Development Center, Camp Bowie (6800), Ft. Worth, TX 76107
      2) Bilingual Education Service Center, 500 South Dwyer Ave., Arlington Heights, IL 60005
      3) CARTEL: Annotated Bibliography of Bilingual/Bicultural Materials. Austin, Texas: Dissemination Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Education, 1973--. A monthly annotated bibliographic journal of audio-visual materials, curriculum materials, library resources and professional resources for bilingual/bicultural education.
      4) Midwest Materials Development Center, Forest Home Ave. School, 1516 W. Forest Home Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53204.
      5) Northeast Center for Curriculum Development, N.Y.C. Board of Education, Community S.D. #7, 778 Forest Ave., Bronx, NY 10456.
      6) Salazar, Theresa. Bilingual Education: A Bibliography. Greeley, Colorado: Bureau of Research Services, University of Northern Colorado, 1975. Contains an unannotated listing of books relating to bilingual education, periodicals, papers and speeches, research studies and curriculum guides. Also makes references to additional bibiliographies.

   b. Anthologies

      1) Abrahams, Roger D. and Rudolph C. Troike, eds. Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972. This anthology of essays contains among its sections: The Problem, which is concerned with the teaching of linguistically and culturally different students; Culture in Education, emphasizing the importance of the educator in helping children of all backgrounds through a better understanding of those various cultures; Language, which presents basic information concerning language acquisition, grammar, competence and performance, dialects, and the history of the Engligh language; Sociolinguistics, dealing with the role of language in social interaction and with the effects of bilingualism and multilingualism.
      2) Pialorski, Frank, ed. Teaching the Bilingual. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1974. This is a collection of articles addressing vital issues in bilingual/bicultural education, bicultural understanding, measurement of bilingualism, and

program implementation. The various perspectives (linguistic, socio-cultural, and pedagogical) offered by the authors will give administrators and teachers insights into a wide range of multi-disciplinary approaches in bilingual and bidialectal education.

3) Spolsky, Bernard, ed. The Language Education of Minority Children: Selected Readings. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972. Articles discuss issues crucial to bilingual/bicultural education, i.e. the expectations of language education, sociolinguistic perspectives, language assessment, and curriculum.

2. Center for Applied Linguistics, 3520 Prospect St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 has several items of interest, including:

a. Jo Ann Crandall et al. Teaching the Spanish-Speaking Child: A Practical Guide (1982). The main portion of the book's format is designed on questions teachers have about the Spanish-speaking child and classroom practices: from code switching and language acquisition to pronunciation differences and vocabulary teaching. Cultural and language diversity among Spanish-speaking groups is also discussed. Exercises, games, and drills for pronunciation, intonation, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary are among the practical activities that conclude this comprehensive resource.

b. Manuel Ramirez et al. Spanish-English Bilingual Education in the U.S.: Current Issues, Resources, and Research Priorities (1982). Although focusing on the Spanish-English situation, the book also provides an overview of bilingualism and bilingual education -- its status and issues -- in the United States. Topics include linguistic aspects, intellectual development and cognitive styles, culture, and assessment. Each section includes a substantial reference section. Vol. 5, 75 pp.

c. Richard V. Teschner et al. Spanish and English of United States Hispanos: A Critical, Annotated, Linguistic Bibliography (1975). An overview of research of U.S. Spanish leads into this painstakingly compiled bibliography. Material on the Spanish of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Islenos, Peninsulares, and Sephardic Jews is listed. Each grouping includes subcategories that range from bibliographies and textbooks to works on grammar, onomastics, code-switching, and sociolinguistics. An essential reference for research on U.S. Spanish, 352 pp. (ISBN 0-87281-042-9)

d. Leonel Musterlier, English-Spanish (Cuban) Phrase Book (1981). $4.00, accompanying tapes $22.00.

3. The Center for Applied Linguistics has also published an ERIC minibibliography (offered free of charge) on Hispanic Cultures. Write to ERIC, 3520 Prospect Street., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007. The following items may be obtained through the ERIC number given or in their original source of publication:

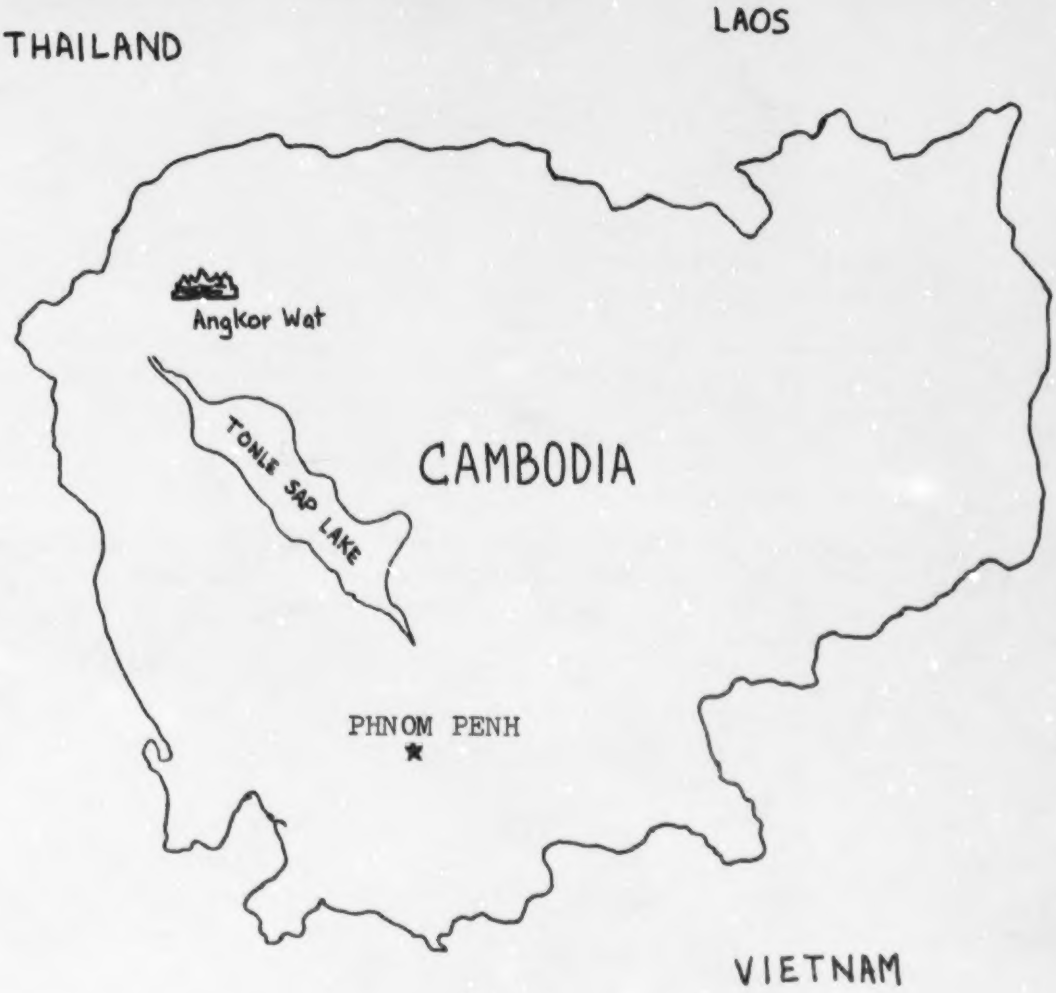
a. ED 202 931 Mangum, Margaret. Face to Face: Introduction to the People and History of Cuba. LIRS Manual for Sponsors of Refugees. 1980. 16pp. For related documents, see ED 202 929 - 202 930. (Available from Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, 360 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10010. Available from EDRS on microfiche only.) This manual, prepared for sponsors of Cuban refugees, describes the background of the newest refugees by explaining their history, culture, ethnic diversity, religion, customs, and the current Cuban social, political, and economic climate.

b. ED 122 637 Moore, Merriam M. Spanish-Hispanic Culture from A to V (Actualidades to Venezuela): 72 Spanish-Language Interdisciplinary Cultural Themes with Suggested Resource Materials and Activities. April 1976. 60pp. (Available from EDRS on microfiche only.) Lists all the Spanish-speaking countries and 72 Spanish cultural themes. Specific resource materials and suggestions for their use in classroom activities and other projects are listed under each of the 72 themes.

c. ED 210 397 Valbuena, Felix Mario; and Others. Multicultural Awareness for the Classroom: The Cubans. 1978. 118pp. For related documents, see ED 210 388 and ED 210 393 - 210 396. This guide provides the teacher of multi-ethnic students with information and teaching resources on Cubans, including an historical overview of Cuba from pre-Columbian times to the present. The guide also focuses on Cuba's black culture, the movement of Cubans to the U.S., Cuba's contributions to the arts and sciences, Cuban holidays, geography, food, flag, and national anthem.

4. de Anda, Diane, "A Study of the Interaction of Hispanic Junior High School Students and Their Teachers," Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, vol. 4, no. 1 (March 1982), 57-74.

5. The Office of Refugee Resettlement offers a free bibliography, Refugee Resettlement in the United States. This annotated bibliography deals with the adjustment of Cuban, Soviet, and Southeast Asian refugees. It is available from: David Haines, ORR, Room 1229 Switzer Bldg., 330 C Street, SW, Washington, D.C.


THAILAND
LAOS
Angkor Wat
TONLE SAP LAKE
CAMBODIA
PHNOM PENH
VIETNAM

AREA:	181,000 square kilometers
POPULATION:	7,500,000
CAPITAL:	Phnom Penh
LANGUAGES:	Khmer, French, Chinese, Vietnamese English
RELIGIONS:	Buddhism, Christianity, Islam

IV. INDOCHINESE STUDENTS IN WISCONSIN: CAMBODIANS

A. CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF CAMBODIAN STUDENTS

I would like to point out that many people mix up the words Khmer, Kampuchea and Cambodian when it comes to deal with Cambodians.

The word Khmer refers to the language that is spoken in Cambodia. Kampuchea is the ancient name of Cambodia but since 1975, Cambodia has become Kampuchea.

Cambodian is a westernized word which refers to the citizens of Kampuchea or its language.

My greatest debt is owed to Mr. Sam A. Ghanty and Ms. Joan Strouse who have helped me in completing this project. These people have the kindness and tact to provide wonderful ideas and to help write some of these sections.

-- Sam Mok

1. Origins of Cambodia

Cambodia was once a huge empire during the peak of its civilization. The famous temples of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom which were built between the periods of the 8th to 11th century are still present today as a witness to the greatness of the Cambodian culture and civilization.

Wars and poor economic conditions contributed to the disintegration of the Cambodian empire toward the end of the 13th century. The empire was divided into small kingdoms which were dominated by Thai vassals. The struggle for political domination and territory between the Thais, Cambodians and Vietnamese has continued to the present. Finally, to preserve its lands from being further chewed away by its neighbors, Cambodia became a French protectorate in 1864. It gained its independence in 1953 under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Sihanouk was deposed in March 1970, by Lon Nol, a pro-American general, and the kindgom of Cambodia was officially transformed into the Khmer Republic in October 1970. The Vietnam war spread out to Cambodia under the military regime which could not contain the Communist invasion. The military situation in Cambodia went from bad to worse from 1973 to 1975. On April 1975, the Khmer Republic fell into Communist hands. That was the beginning of the Cambodian tragedy.

2. Geography of Cambodia

Agriculturally rich and underpopulated by Southeast Asian standards, Cambodia is bordered by Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. The country covers 69,000 square miles (about the size of the state of Missouri). The climate is tropical with hot and humid weather and is regulated by the Monsoon which brings rain from mid-April to October. Therefore, two basic seasons characterize the country's climate: the hot season and the rainy season. Ninety percent of the population is directly engaged in agriculture. The majority of the Cambodians live in villages. The trades people and the public sector make up the urban population. There are few large land owners and landless tenants are relatively rare. The main products and major export items include rice, rubber and textiles. There have been few industries in Cambodia. Special efforts were made to develop a small industrial base consisting mainly of sugar, textiles, glass, plywood, oil, refineries and cement. The country is well known for silver handicrafts and precious stones.

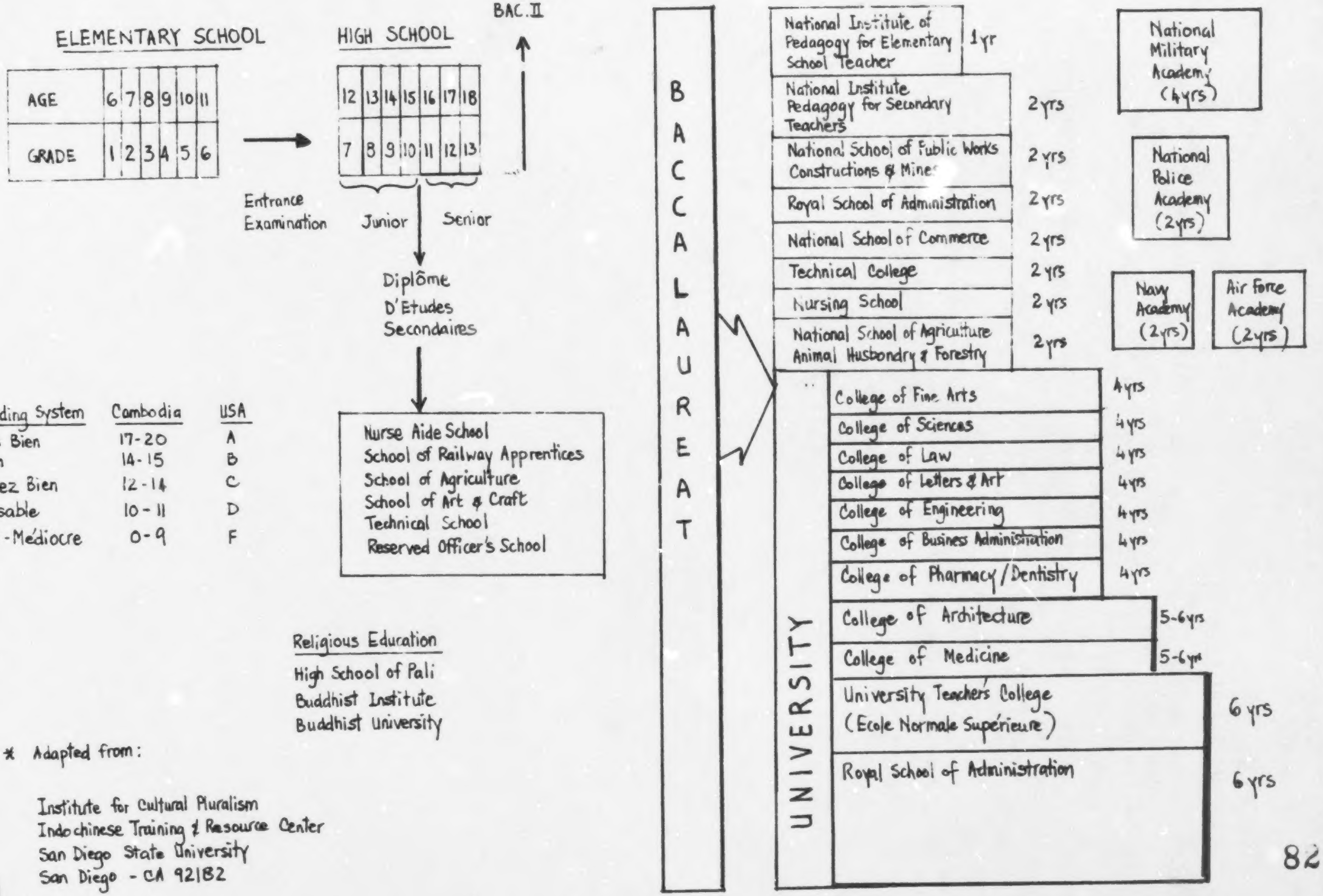
3. Language and Educational System

The Cambodians speak a non-tonal language called Khmer. The language is called Khmer. The language has 33 elements in its alphabet. The writing system and the alphabet are of Indian origin. The Cambodian language is actually spoken by the five to seven million Khmer in Cambodia, but it extends beyond the national frontiers into parts of Laos, east-central Thailand and the eastern part of South Vietnam.

TABLE I

SCHOOL SYSTEM IN CAMBODIA *

1975


ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
HIGH SCHOOL
BAC. II
Entrance Examination
Junior
Senior
Diplôme D'Etudes Secondaires
Nurse Aide School
School of Railway Apprentices
School of Agriculture
School of Art & Craft
Technical School
Reserved Officer's School
BACCALAUREAT
National Institute of Pedagogy for Elementary School Teacher 1yr
National Institute Pedagogy for Secondary Teachers 2 yrs
National School of Public Works Constructions & Mines 2 yrs
Royal School of Administration 2 yrs
National School of Commerce 2 yrs
Technical College 2 yrs
Nursing School 2 yrs
National School of Agriculture Animal Husbondry & Forestry 2 yrs
UNIVERSITY
College of Fine Arts 4 yrs
College of Sciences 4 yrs
College of Law 4 yrs
College of Letters & Art 4 yrs
College of Engineering 4 yrs
College of Business Administration 4 yrs
College of Pharmacy / Dentistry 4 yrs
College of Architecture 5-6 yrs
College of Medicine 5-6 yrs
University Teacher's College (Ecole Normale Supérieure) 6 yrs
Royal School of Administration 6 yrs
National Military Academy (4 yrs)
National Police Academy (2 yrs)
Navy Academy (2 yrs)
Air Force Academy (2 yrs)

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

AGE	6	7	8	9	10	11
GRADE	1	2	3	4	5	6

HIGH SCHOOL

12	13	14	15	16	17	18
7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Grading System	Cambodia	USA
Très Bien	17-20	A
Bien	14-15	B
Assez Bien	12-14	C
Passable	10-11	D
Nul-Médiocre	0-9	F

Religious Education

High School of Pali
Buddhist Institute
Buddhist University

* Adapted from:

Institute for Cultural Pluralism
Indochinese Training & Resource Center
San Diego State University
San Diego - CA 92182

In addition to the Cambodian language, Pali and Sanskrit are used but limited to the Buddhist society and community. Pali is the sacred language of Buddhism and appears in religious texts, while Sanskrit is restricted almost exclusively to the domaine of religious scholarship. The Cambodian language lacks scientific and modern terms.

Beginning in 1863, French was the official langugage until the Political Independence of 1953. After that, French remained the practical working language used in official and diplomatic documents and is still used by the "elite" class of the Cambodian society. Later on, during the sixties, there was a reaction to the foreign intrusion and a national campaign was conducted to "Cambodianize" the program of studies, first in grade schools, then in high schools. The movement to "Cambodianize" the college level started in 1970 until the take-over by the Communists in 1975. The educational system can be described in the diagram shown in Table I.

Unlike other Indochinese refugees, the Cambodians were totally denied access to any education during the "Khmer Rouge" occupation from 1975 to 1979. Children of the refugees experienced a complete vacuum in their life during that period and may have had difficulties in completing their study requirements in the U.S. This is why, for some Cambodian children, scholastic achievement and age cannot be linked.

4. Family and Social Life*

a. Family and Family Life

The Cambodians believe in an extended family system in which households include the married couple and their unmarried children as well as grandparents, brothers, sisters, cousins, and sometimes uncles and aunts. The Cambodian family is usually large, averaging from three to five children. Because polygamy was legal (although it was practiced only by a small minority), one should not be surprised to see a family of fifteen or more children.

The average Cambodian does not attach special importance to tracing descendants through the male line. The father, in general, prefers having more boys so that later on they can be of help to the family, but the mother usually prefers having girls. The family lives in a closely knit unit. It is normal to see grandparents sharing the same house with their married children or married grandchildren. The grandparents usually help with the daily miscellaneous work in the household, such as taking care of the infants while their parents go to work or taking care of the house or the cooking. Like many other Asian societies, the Cambodians do not send the elderly to a nursing home and respect for one's elder is expected from everyone. Buddhist teaching stresses deference to the wishes of an elder and is still the dominant influence on a young Cambodian's behavior.

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*Adapted from LIRS (L.C. in the USA), Cambodia, The Land and Its People.

b. Family Life

In general, each small family group occupies a separate house, owns its rice paddy lot and vegetable garden, raises cattle for field labor or for consumption and plans, and operates as an independent unit. Major domestic, social and religious activities, as well as the minor shared activities of daily life, are handled by the members of the immediate family. This fact remains strong in the country as well as in the urban area.

In the rural Cambodian family, the husband does the more strenuous work, is the breadwinner of the family and has higher status than the wife. Elsewhere, the husband usually belongs to the administrative bureaucracy, has an easier life, and spends more time outside the house. As a breadwinner, he remains normally the powerful head of the family, has authority over all family members, and makes decisions on major affairs. His authority is visibly exercised regarding children and children usually feel a special respect for the father.

The Cambodian woman occupies a key position in the household, and, in many ways, oversees the prosperity, well-being and development of the family as a unit. Her ethical influence over the younger minds is very important as a carrier of the basic social and moral values of Cambodian culture. She is highly regarded by the men in her own family activities. The wife stands on an equal footing with her husband and, in some matters, she surpasses him in initiative. Generally, it is the wife who is the treasurer, controlling the purse strings and budgeting the family assets.

Cambodian children are treated affectionately, but not fussed over, and are encouraged to take care of themselves from an early age on. They are, at the same time, allowed to be "children" and are not constantly goaded into adopting adult attitudes or behavior. However, once the child begins to assert his own personality, parental attitudes change. Children are subjected to a much stricter control in Cambodia than here. A girl learns household duties from her mother, including cooking and tending to the younger children. She also joins the mother in trips to the market for daily shopping. A boy, in the rural areas, learns the techniques of agriculture from his father and older brothers.

In principle, the authority of the parents is sacred and unqualified, but parents actually prefer to teach approved behavior by means of examples set by adults and older children. Sharp reprimands and physical punishment are avoided as much as possible, but it is not unusual to see, in certain circles, physical punishment still being used.

Boys are more exempt from discipline than girls. The girls receive stricter supervision. They must be above reproach if a favorable marriage is later to be arranged. Parental domination falls doubly hard on a daughter and her life is mapped out along the lines of family advantages and interests. Marriage is arranged by the parents. For most of the families, the family chooses for their children the bride or the groom they like. The parents still have another important duty: settling a son or daughter in a profitable marriage, because advantages gained through marriage usually benefit the whole family. In modern society, this practice is diminishing somewhat, although one still sees it operating in some circles. It is important to note that the family works as a social security organization for its immediate relatives. Financial assistance to an immediate relative (such as father, brother, or sister) is regarded not as the sort of favor that warrants a debt of gratitude, but as part of the natural order of things. Aids to distant relatives may be offered, as well as to close friends. To Cambodian people, friendship is very important. When people become friends, they share everything.

c. Marriage

High value is placed on proper standards of sexual behavior and on premarital chastity. This is very true in the rural areas, but in urban society, it applies nearly solely to the girls, who are required to be above all reproach in this matter. Premarital activities by girls is condemned, but more men experience premarital sexual relations, especially in the cities where prostitutes are found. In the rural areas, virginity in a bride is mandatory. In the cities, attitudes about this tend to be less rigid nowadays. In some villages, a bride who gets pregnant, even by her betrothed, is considered shameful to her family and, therefore, she is expelled from the family.

Marital fidelity is mandatory, but practically only for women. Polygamy is still legal but is diminishing because of economic pressure and general expansion of education among young people. Young children are not permitted much sexual knowledge, because the parents feel that too much knowledge can lead to desire and eventually to trouble. So usually bits and pieces of information about sex are picked up from friends, but parents tend to discourage curiousity and usually give inaccurate or fragmentary answers to direct questions. In practice, girls receive little information until the night before the wedding, when the bride's parents and the "achar" (a pagoda wise man) explain the basic facts of sex.

The western concept of romantic love has caught the imagination of westernized Cambodians, but it is still a purely urban phenomenon. In Phnom Penh, there is some "dating" among college students, but it is done within a group of teenagers of both sex, rather than as separate couples. It is quite common to see boys and girls go anywhere hand-in-hand in the U.S., whereas in Cambodia, physical contact between the sexes, even hand-holding is rarely seen in public.

The rural patterns of courtship differ from those in the urban areas. In the country, young men usually begin a flirtation by remarking about the captiviting beauty of the sky or the trees, because to speak directly of a girl's beauty or about her dress is considered blatant. But a sophisticated young man may write love letters. Later, if his intentions are serious, he could ask his relatives, as a go-between, to sound out the intentions of the girl's parents and eventually ask for her hand. But the general rule remains that the parents select the mates for their children. Divorce is legal, but the rate is relatively low in comparison to the U.S.'s.

5. Customs, Traditions and Beliefs

In Cambodia, people are reluctant to call new acquaintances by names. When the relationship is well established and the age of each one is known, those who are of the same age may call each other by a first name. Others refer to each other as "big or small brother" or "big or small sister," or "uncle or aunt." In any case, the last name is never used. It is an insult to call someone by his/her last name or to call older people by name, even the first one.

When people visit their friends, they usually take off their shoes before they enter the friend's house. Cambodians greet each other by placing their hands and palms together, near their faces. The level of the hands is an indication of the respect for the other person. In rural areas, some Cambodians practice animism which includes worship of the spirits of ancestors, stones, and ghosts. Due to the expansion of the Western philosophy and Buddhism, these beliefs are fading away.

6. Some Characteristics of the Cambodians

Although it is difficult to stereotype the character of the Cambodians, it is possible to attempt to describe some dominant features which may enable us to catch the general character of the whole group. These features may be summarized as follows:

a. The Cambodians are generally sympathetic, gentle, polite and reluctant to show anger or displeasure in a direct manner.

b. Deeply religious, they tend to be conservative. They believe in fate. Buddhism suppresses their aggressiveness.

c. They often hide their emotions and usually prefer to suffer in silence rather than open their hearts to strangers. They are often humble and submissive. For instance, an American who listens to a Cambodian describe the killing of his family may end up feeling shocked and confused by the calm way in which the Cambodian told his tragic story.

d. They always smile. Their smile generally reflects their kind feelings, their sweet character, and their good heart. A smile may also indicate politeness and a desire to please. A Westerner may be offended by a misplaced smile from a Cambodian. To the latter, it may be a reflection of the reasons mentioned above.

e. They tend to hold a grudge when they feel they have been humiliated or have suffered a loss of face. The bitterness grows if this happens in public.

f. Cambodians seldom negotiate. Instead they enter into negotiation with goals they do not intend to modify. In fact, if there are persistent disagreements it generally is because each of the parties involved feels that the other side does not understand the situation. Sometimes, the disagreements can be resolved only through mutual probing and explanation that enables the parties to reach a common understanding. If it is impossible, both parties withdraw and leave the problem unresolved, with the hope that time and circumstances will remove the issue altogether, or that one side will ultimately see the light. Cambodians, in general, are very fond of entering into legal proceedings and spending all their money on the fees even if they have to ruin themselves in the process. The main goal is that they will not lose face.

g. They are generally shy. Shyness is sometimes associated with a kind of reserve, leading to the feeling that they lack education or are not polite. Shyness sometimes makes them feel uncomfortable in saying "hello" spontaneously or expressing thanks in a proper way for example. This does not mean that they forget a good deed that they have received. In fact, they keep their sentiments of gratitude in their hearts and will show them if an opportunity arises.

To summarize, the Cambodians are generally characterized as very jolly, very cheerful and very affectionate. They have a relaxed manner of approaching life, and love to sing and dance. They appear slow and passive but industrious. Once you gain their confidence, they will be loyal to you and will become attached to you.

7. Problems of Adjustment of Cambodian Refugees in the U.S.

The 1970-1975 war had disastrous consequences on the life of Cambodians. The country was almost completely destroyed. In fact, factories, buildings, houses, and roads were destroyed with greater rapidity than twenty years of conflict did in Vietnam. At the same time, Cambodian society was totally dislocated and disintegrated. This destruction of the social structure was carried on in a brutal and senseless way that was almost unequated in modern history. Most of the Cambodian refugees experienced untold miseries. They have the impression that they are isolated and dispersed and, therefore, there is a tendency for them to try to regroup together.

They do not speak English fluently. Those who know French will have fewer difficulties in learning the language; but those who speak only Khmer will experience a great deal of hardship. The older people usually feel no compulsion to learn, thinking (of course, wrongly) that they are too old to learn a new language. The same line of reasoning applies to the women who think they can stay home as housewives, a kind of life they used to live in the old country. Children, naturally, adapt a lot faster. Efforts should be made to encourage them to use English all the time. Informal practice is often more productive than formal study.

The Cambodians might be more eager to preserve their culture and traditions than other refugees. The old people are generally more conservative and seem not to easily adjust to the new society, because they tend to live with the past, while the younger generation lives with the future.

Other problems may be summarized as follows:

a. difficulties in understanding the American way of life;

b. problems in raising children because of the influences of the new culture which has challenged the old customs;

c. cultural barriers making friendship with other people more difficult;

d. feelings of having to live in an inferior social status as refugees;

e. language barriers that magnify other adjustment problems, such as employment and economic status.

8. Educational Needs of Cambodian Students

a. Khmer Alphabet

The Khmer alphabet is not the same as the Roman alphabet. Often the letters are not in the linear order which corresponds to the order of the sounds they represent. Khmer uses spaces between phrases of sentences rather than between words. English and Khmer both operate on the sound-symbol correlation principle. However, unlike English, the Khmer alphabet has a consistent pronunciation fit. A student who is literate in Khmer will have to be taught the Roman alphabet and English sound-letter correspondence. This is usually not too difficult a process as the student has already developed literacy skills and only needs to transfer those into English.

A sample of Khmer script showing a simple greeting is shown to give readers a glimpse of the beauty and design of the language.

Example:

ជំរាបសួរ = HELLO

In Khmer, a sentence is a placement of words. For instance if one wants to say: "I go to Helen's house" in English, that person will say in Khmer: I go to house Helen.

Some Cambodians have problems with the sound of sh, ch, r, x, l and j.

b. Mathematics

Due to the lack of extensive educational opportunities, many Cambodians will need to learn to perform simple mathematical computations.

c. Adjustments to the Classroom Environment

In Cambodia, the classroom is relatively small with few decorations. In general, blackboard and chalk are the only equipment of teachers. There are between 40 to 50 students in each class and boys and girls are mixed together in the same class. The relationship between the two sexes is characterized by reserve, shyness and lack of physical contact.

Cambodian students feel that they owe respect, obedience and acknowledgement to teachers. They believe what the teacher says and usually they take it for granted, because a teacher is the symbol of truth and the knowledge. It is rare to see Cambodian students challenge the opinions of the teacher. They usually ask no questions and wait to be called on. Perhaps some of them will need to be pushed to perform and participate in class.

d. Cambodian School System

The Cambodian Educational system is placed under the control of the Ministry of Education which finances the entire system. There is only one curriculum for the whole nation and no distinctions are made between urban and rural areas.

The curriculum emphasizes mathematics, science and humanities. The school year runs from September to July and lasts nine months. There is a break during the school year. During that period, students are given three exams in each subject taught. Modern mathematics were not taught at all until 1970-1974.

There are few laboratories or libraries. Subjects are taught through memorization in preparation for examinations. There are two kinds of exams: essay and recitation. The school day has two periods: the morning session which runs from 7:00 to 11:00 AM and the afternoon session, from 2:30 to 4:00 PM. Food is never served at school and students must go back home for lunch.

e. Teacher-Parent Interactions

Asking parents to work with the school authorities regarding student's progress is a problem, because parents rely on the teacher and the school to educate their children. Language barriers and their lack of familiarity of the new environment may also inhibit parents' cooperation with the school.

For the teacher to communicate with parents, it is preferable to use the help of a well-known and respected bilingual person in the community. Because the parents probably do not read or write, notes or pamphlets may not be very effective. Contact someone who is able to speak English/Cambodian to explain the situation to the parents. In the old country, Cambodian parents were not used to participating in the school's decisions or activities. School decisions were made solely by the school officials.

Teachers should also be aware of the so-called problem of child abuse. Moderate physical punishment by a few parents is considered an acceptable practice by many Cambodians, although sharp reprimands and physical punishment are avoided as much as possible. It is not rare to see, in certain circles, physical punishment still being used. This may shock some teachers. Such parents should be approached or dealt with tactfully by trained social workers who understand the students' cultural background. This problem should be solved in such a way that children will not use this system to bring disrespect to their parents. One must remember that the authority of the parent is considered sacred and unqualified in many families.

9. Summary

Teachers are regarded by the Cambodian students and their parents as educators, mentors and counselors. They help develop their students' life into a productive one. They should earn respect and obedience. In the past, Cambodian education was undertaken by the Buddhist monks who commanded respect, obedience, and gratitude from their students. That tradition is still true for many Cambodians.

The following guidelines may be used to help to deal with Cambodian students:

a. Understand how these students (their language, culture and customs) differ from others. Demonstrate respect for these differences.

b. Help students to continue their interest in their rich linguistic and cultural background by showing an interest in that heritage. This is a wonderful way to make all students aware of their own differences and similarities and to be proud of their uniqueness. Encourage the Cambodian student to study Khmer as well as English and to learn about his/her native history and culture.

c. Try not to jump to conclusions when a student behaves in a manner you are not familiar with. The Cambodian experience is not a Western one and should be judged with a sensitive and open understanding.

d. You may notice a smile from a Cambodian which may not be appropriate under some circumstances or situations. It is possible that a Cambodian student will smile to hide an emotion which is not meant to be an insult to the other party.

e. Sometimes, a quiet and apparently non-communicating student may give the impression to the teacher that he/she lacks interest in the subject. This is not always true because the student may just be too shy or too timid to react to the teacher's questions or comments.

f. It is possible to hear a student telling horrible stories about the execution of his family or friends by the Communists without showing a great deal of emotion and sadness in his face or voice. Do not be shocked by this attitude. Remember they have shed all their tears and a hard life has become normal to them. Try to be patient, tolerent, and understanding.

g. Some students may be very slow to react to the teacher's questions. This may be due to their shyness or their language problems. A great deal of patience is recommended for dealing with these people.

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B. SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. A New Land, A New Home, A New Life

Joe Beck
Wisconsin State Journal
Sunday, July 25, 1982
"Rural Life" Section, p. 1

At age 13, Boh Ouk saw her neighbors lined up in a ditch and shot.

At 14, the threat of a similar fate drove her family from Cambodia across the border into Thailand.

At 17, she left a refugee camp that had been her home in Thailand, and boarded a jet that whisked her to the United States, and eventually a new life in Stoughton.

Now she is 20, cradling her dark-haired son of one week, as she describes an odyssey that delivered her from a nation convulsed by a reign of terror.

Her face has the dewy look of a young mother, all dimpled and proud. A smile ripens it into heart-shaped serenity that betrays none of the jarring desperation that marked her earlier station in life.

Escape at night

Boh's village in Cambodia was near the Thai border, a bit of good fortune that afforded her a better chance of escape than most Cambodians.

"It was around midnight," she recalled. "Some people in Thailand had gone back to where we lived. We sneaked out with them around midnight. Almost the whole town came that night--about 20 families."

"We walked all night until about 9 or 10--until we reached Thailand."

Boh escaped in 1977, a time when the forces of Communist leader Pol Pot were scourging the Cambodian countryside like bands of avenging angels.

"Fighting and Killing"

The Central Intelligence Agency has estimated that Cambodia lost nearly 2 million people from a population of 7.1 million between 1970 and the end of 1979. There was speculation among some American experts on Asian affairs that the Cambodians were facing extinction. Starvation, military action, killings and emigration were cited as the major reasons for the decline of Cambodia, whose traditional name, Kampuchea, was revived by the Communists.

Boh's explanation was simpler but no less accurate: "My country has been fighting and killing for a long, long time."

Boh's refugee camp held "thousands and thousands" of other Cambodians who had fled the Pol Pot regime. In 1979, Boh, her father and two sisters were plucked from the camp and sent to the United States through a relief effort organized by churches and the U.S. government.

That effort has been spearheaded in Stoughton by the First Lutheran Church, Christ Lutheran, Covenant Lutheran and First United Methodist. They brought the first Cambodians to Stoughton in 1975 and have helped establish a thriving community of about 50 refugees in the town.

Boh and her husband, Soeun, rent an apartment on Main Street from Arthur Wendt, who owns the photography studio below them. Wendt and his wife, Eileen, are among 15 volunteers, mostly from the churches, who have helped the Cambodians get food, shelter, medical attention and education upon their arrival in their adopted home.

"When you see someone get off a plane with a family of six to eight people and all of their worldly possessions in a 1-foot-square box, it's a very moving experience," said Mrs. Wendt.

For all their admirable motives, the Wendts must occasionally answer questions about why their humanitarian gestures would not be better spent on destitute Americans. "There are social agencies for the others," said Wendt, "but our government and the Lutheran churches asked for sponsors for these people, and we are fulfilling that need."

Keapen Thy-Kim heard the taunts during her first weeks working at the Ortega food products plant in Stoughton. Most of her co-workers and her supervisors accepted her, but there were one or two who objected to her presence, she said.

"They say, 'If you send that Cambodian back, the job will be open for an American.' I just don't pay attention and walk away. I heard them, but I just don't know what to say."

Keapen said she no longer hears any complaints after six years at the plant. She and her husband, Meng Hort, were among the first group of 15 refugees to arrive in Stoughton in September 1975. They were followed by 16 more, including Boh and Soeun Ouk, in 1979, and a third group of 17 last year.

The first group consisted largely of well-educated people from the cities; the second, unskilled peasants; and the third, a combination of the first two groups, according to Dr. David Nelson, one of the sponsors.

Some of the most recent arrivals are still trying to find work in a job market that is far less accessible than it was for the first two groups.

But Nelson is still pleased with the overall progress of the resettlement effort. "What's important is that these particular groups have maintained an awfully good image in the community," he said.